FOREIGN BROADCAST INFORMATION SERVICE

Daily Report

East Europe

FBIS-EEU-89-184
Monday
25 September 1989

Daily Report
East Europe

FBIS-EEU-86-184 21 September 1986

CONTENTS

ALBANIA

Foreign Minister Malile Departs for New York *[Tirana Radio]* 1
People's Assembly Delegation Leaves for Finland *[Tirana Radio]* 1
Economic Progress Report for 17-23 Sep *[Tirana Radio]* 1
Leaders' Public Appearances 16-22 Sep *[Tirana Radio]* 1

BULGARIA

Italian Military Delegation's Report Cited *[BTA]* 2
Over 100 Kg Heroin Seized From Turkish Trucks *[BTA]* 2
Zhivkov Receives Greek CP Leader Florakis *[BTA]* 3
Zhivkov Greets International Women's Session *[RABOTNICHESKO DELO 13 Sep]* 3
PRC Leaders Send National Day Greetings *[RABOTNICHESKO DELO 10 Sep]* 3
Castro Sends National Day Greetings *[RABOTNICHESKO DELO 10 Sep]* 4
Order on Preserving Buildings Published *[RABOTNICHESKO DELO 19 Sep]* 4
New Territorial Organization Committee Formed *[RABOTNICHESKO DELO 13 Sep]* 4

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

Budapest on 'Change of Attitude' Toward Refugees *[Budapest Radio]* 5
Border Guards Obstructing GDR Citizens Denied *[Belgrade Radio]* 5
Refugees Treated With 'Unbelievable Brutality' *[Vienna KURIER 24 Sep]* 5
Poland's Rakowski Arrives, Met by Jakes *[Prague Radio]* 6
Rise in Smuggling, Poles' Role Viewed *[RUDE PRAVO 20 Sep]* 6
Legal 'Standpoint' on Dam Talks With Hungary *[RUDE PRAVO 21 Sep]* 6
Lenart: Socialism in Poland, Hungary Threatened *[Bratislava PRAVDA 21 Sep]* 7
Lenart Receives Romanian Official 19 Sep *[RUDE PRAVO 20 Sep]* 7
Krimsky Receives USSR, GDR Coal Ministers *[RUDE PRAVO 21 Sep]* 7
CPSU Early Congress Decision Viewed *[Tribuna in RUDE PRAVO 21 Sep]* 8
Letter on Soviet 'Vilification of Past' Reported *[Bratislava PRAVDA 20 Sep]* 8
Chinese Trade Delegation Received in Bratislava *[Bratislava PRAVDA 20 Sep]* 9
PRC Delegation 'Thoroughly' Studies Education *[RUDE PRAVO 20 Sep]* 9
End of Brno Fair, Contracts Reported *[RUDE PRAVO 21 Sep]* 9
Increase in CSSR-PRG Trade Figures Expected *[RUDE PRAVO 19 Sep]* 9
CSCE Delegate Sees First Round as 'Promising' *[CTK]* 9
Commentary Defends Czechoslovak Status in World *[Hoffmann in RUDE PRAVO 19 Sep]* 10
Budapest Reports Writer Havel Under Arrest *[Budapest Radio]* 10
Charter 77 Critics Get Journalism Prizes *[RUDE PRAVO 20 Sep]* 11
CPCZ Statutes, Party Internal Life Discussed *[Bratislava PRAVDA 20 Sep]* 11
New History, Civics Textbooks Planned *[RUDE PRAVO 11 Sep]* 12
Youth Union Cadre Changes Announced *[MLADA FRONTA 18 Sep]* 12
Leaders' Appearances for 7-20 Sep Published 12

GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

SED, CPSU Social Scientists Stress Ties *[NEUES DEUTSCHLAND 20 Sep]* 15
LDPD Chairman on Exodus, Soviet Reforms *[DER MORGEN 20 Sep]* 15
Embassy Refugees 'Allowed to Emigrate' to FRG *[Hamburg DPA]* 17
NDPD Denounces FRG 'Malicious Campaign' *[NEUES DEUTSCHLAND 20 Sep]* 17
Views Exchanged With Austrian Army Delegation *[ADN]* 17
Greek President Receives CDU's Greeting *[NEUES DEUTSCHLAND 20 Sep]* 18
CSSR Leaders Return Thanks for Greetings *[NEUES DEUTSCHLAND 20 Sep]* 18
Hager Receives CPCZ Delegation for Talks *[Prague Radio]* 19

Stoph Receives Bulgaria's Dyulgerov [NEUES DEUTSCHLAND 20 Sep] 19
GDR Participates in Zagreb Fair [NEUES DEUTSCHLAND 19 Sep] 19
Kessler Receives Cuban Army Delegation [NEUES DEUTSCHLAND 20 Sep] 20
Modzl: Afghanistan's Tawana Discuss Relations [ADN] 20
Kim Il-song Sends Thanks on World Festival [NEUES DEUTSCHLAND 20 Sep] 20
Hager Receives DPRK's Choe Tae-pok [ADN] 20
Mueckenberger Receives Israeli CP Official [NEUES DEUTSCHLAND 19 Sep] 21
Exchange Rate of GDR Mark Declines [FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE 19 Sep] 21
Editorial Questions Behavior of CDU Members [NEUES DEUTSCHLAND 19 Sep] 21
Opposition Groups Hold 'Surprise' Meeting [Hamburg DPA] 22
New Opposition Group Favors Socialism Reforms [Hamburg DPA] 22
Musicians Sound Call for National Dialogue [Hamburg BILD 21 Sep] 23
Writers Ask 'Democratic Dialogue' at All Levels [FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE 21 Sep] 23
'Appropriate Amount' Harvested Despite Drought [NEUES DEUTSCHLAND 19 Sep] 23
Resistance Fighters Send Message to Honecker [NEUES DEUTSCHLAND 18 Sep] 24

HUNGARY

Szuros: Refugee Move 'Sovereign Hungarian Step' [Budapest Radio] 25
UN Comments Reaffirmed [MTI] 25
Czech Guards Chase GDR Citizens Into Hungary [Budapest Radio] 25
Decree Applies Rules of Geneva Refugee Pact [MTI] 25
GDR Refugees Swim Across Danube Into Country [Budapest Radio] 26
Refugee Departures Updated [MTI] 26
Role of United Nations Grows in Foreign Policy [MAGYAR NEMZET 16 Sep] 26
Position Chosen on Gabcsikovo-Nagymaros Project [MTI] 28
GDR's Schuerer, Nemeth Discuss Cooperation [East Berlin ADN] 29
Industry Minister Hopes Iran Trade Continues [MTI] 29
Karoly Grosz Elected Congressional Delegate [MTI] 29
Nyers Visits Szabolcs-Szatmar County 20 Sep [MTI] 30
Calls for Party 'Rejuvenation' [MTI] 30
Nyers Addresses Youth Rally Supporting Reforms [MTI] 30
Pozsgay Says MSZMP To Change Name [Budapest Radio] 30
Delay, 'Overdoing' Things Could Threaten Reforms [MAGYAR HIRLAP 16 Sep] 31
Assembly Reaches Consensus on 'Fundamental Laws' [MTI] 32
Cuts Proposed for Workers Militia [MTI] 32
Trade Unions, Workers Party Air Differences [MTI] 33

POLAND

FRG, GDR Ambassadors on Refugees in Warsaw [TRYBUNA LUDU 21 Sep] 34
Freedom Movement Protests at USSR Embassy [PAP] 34
Havel's 'Open Letter' to Pozsgay, Mazowiecki [GAZETA WYBORCZA 17 Sep] 34
Daily Reports 'Lithuania Ruled by Sajudis' [TRYBUNA LUDU 20 Sep] 35
Party Daily on Gorbachev, Nationalities Plenum [Krasiewski in TRYBUNA LUDU 20 Sep] 35
Foreign Minister Leaves for UN Session [PAP] 36
Skubiszewski on 'Finlandization,' United Germany [Warsaw TV] 36
Urban Replaced as TV, Radio Committee Head [Warsaw Radio] 37
Mazowiecki Appoints Under Secretaries [Warsaw TV] 37
Premier Addresses Parliamentarians in Warsaw [Warsaw Radio] 37
Walesa, Lis, Kolodziejski Weigh Past 9 Years [DZIENNIK BALTYCKI 1 Sep] 37
PZPR's Miller on Party Support, Reform [TRYBUNA LUDU 19 Sep] 40
PZPR Plenum Decides To Hold Poll [TRYBUNA LUDU 20 Sep] 42
Rakowski Addresses 13th Party Plenum [TRYBUNA LUDU 20 Sep] 43
OKP Presidium Holds Meeting 21 Sep [PAP] 46
United Peasant Party Discusses Unity [Warsaw Radio] 46
Private Farmers Solidarity Chief Interviewed [TRYBUNA LUDU 20 Sep] 47
Appeal to Poznan Farmers To Support Mazowiecki [PAP] 47
Independent Students Union Registration Permitted [Warsaw Radio] 47
Katowice Drivers on Strike on Pay Demand [Warsaw Radio] 47
Finance Ministry Alcohol Prices To Increase [Warsaw Radio] 48

ROMANIA

Cultural Commission With USSR Meets in Moscow [AGERPRES] 49
Romanian Culture Days Open in Moscow [AGERPRES] 49
Ceausescu Receives PRC Delegation 20 Sep [AGERPRES] 49
GDR Days of Culture Conclude in Bucharest [AGERPRES] 50
Castro Thanks Ceausescu for Condolences [SCINTEIA 17 Sep] 50
Ceausescu Greets Ortega on National Day [SCINTEIA 15 Sep] 50
Mitea Meets Turkish President in Ankara [AGERPRES] 51
Greetings Exchanged With Cyprus President [AGERPRES] 51
Stoian Meets Iranian President in Tehran [AGERPRES] 51
Rafsanjani Thanks Ceausescu for Greetings [SCINTEIA 23 Sep] 52
Ceausescu Receives Ambassador's Credentials [AGERPRES] 52

YUGOSLAVIA

Radio Comments on Slovene Constitution Changes [Sarajevo on Ljubljana Radio] 53
POLITIKA on Slovene Constitution Changes [Radovic in POLITIKA 17 Sep] 53
Slovenes React to SFRY Presidency Statement [BORBA 18 Sep] 54
Slovenes Consider One House Assembly [BORBA 11 Sep] 55
'Temporary Measures' Imposed in Pec Factory [Pristina Radio] 55
Albanian Sentenced After Suva Reka Protests [BELINDJA 19 Sep] 56
Rumors About 'Rift' in Croat LC Viewed [BORBA 16-17 Sep] 56
Markovic Meets Croat Officials 20 Sep [TANJUG] 57
Bosnian TU Threatens Strike Over 'Pauperization' [POLITIKA 15 Sep] 58
Serbian TU President on Government Inflation [POLITIKA 15 Sep] 58
Korosec Deems Inflation 'Underestimated' by FEC [POLITIKA 16 Sep] 58
August Inflation Rate Reaches 89.3 Percent [BORBA 14 Sep] 58
Democratic Initiative Association To Continue Work [BORBA 13 Sep] 59
Marin Sends Letter Protesting BORBA Report [BORBA 15 Sep] 59
SFRY-Bulgaria Traditional Border Meeting Held [TANJUG] 59
Markovic on 'Very Successful' Talks With Italy [TANJUG] 60
Markovic Receives Iraqi Minister of Trade [TANJUG] 60

Foreign Minister Malile Departs for New York

LD2109183689 Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian 1800 GMT 21 Sep 89

[Text] Reis Malile, minister of foreign affairs, who heads the Albanian delegation to the 44th UN General Assembly session, left today for New York.

People's Assembly Delegation Leaves for Finland

LD2409195889 Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian 1600 GMT 24 Sep 89

[Text] A delegation of the People's Assembly, headed by Sebai Treza, secretary to the Presidium of the People's Assembly of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania, left today for an official and friendly visit to Finland at the invitation of the Parliament of the Republic of Finland.

The delegation was seen off at Rinas Airport by Rahman Hanku, member of the Presidium of the People's Assembly, and other comrades.

Economic Progress Report for 17-23 Sep

LD2309184489

[Editorial report] Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian in its transmissions between 17-23 September carries the following economic performance reports (time and date of transmission in parentheses):

Fier District: The overall industrial production plan up to 15 September has been overfulfilled by 16 million leks. (1800 GMT 17 Sep 89)

Korce District: Nineteen out of 22 industrial enterprises have fulfilled their respective plans up to 15 September. (1800 GMT 19 Sep 89)

Pogradec District: The general industrial production plan up to 15 September has been exceeded by 5.6 million leks. (1800 GMT 18 Sep 89)

Vlore District: The general industrial plan up to 15 September has been overfulfilled by 7 million leks and the productivity target by 5 percent. (1800 GMT 19 Sep 89)

Leaders' Public Appearances 16-22 Sep

LD2309171589

[Editorial report] Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian in its broadcasts between 16-22 September reports the following public appearances of Albanian leaders (date and time of report given in parentheses):

Ramiz Alia, Albanian Workers' Party (AWP) Central Committee (CC) first secretary and chairman of the Presidium of the People's Assembly; Adil Carcani, AWP CC Politburo member and chairman of the Council of Ministers; Manush Myftiu, Pali Miska, and Prokop Murra, AWP CC Politburo members, attended the 47th anniversary of the Peze Conference and the inauguration of a monument to local hero Mysiim Peza in the village of Peze, Tirana District, on 16 September. (1800 GMT 16 Sep 89)

Foto Cami, AWP CC Politburo member and secretary, attended the anniversary celebrations of the 14th Assault Brigade in Gjirokaster on 16 September. (1800 GMT 18 Sep 89)

Rita Marku, AWP CC Politburo member and deputy chairman of the Presidium of the People's Assembly, and Vangjel Cerrava, AWP CC Politburo candidate member and Korce District AWP Committee first secretary, attended a ceremony at which collectives and workers were awarded orders and decorations in Korce on 21 September. (1800 GMT 21 Sep 89)

Hekuran Isai, AWP CC Politburo member and secretary, attended a ceremony at which workers and collectives were awarded medals and orders by the Presidium of the People's Assembly in Vlore on 21 September. (1800 GMT 21 Sep 89)

Hajredin Celiku, AWP CC Politburo member attended a ceremony at which decorations and orders were awarded to collectives and individuals by the Presidium of the People's Assembly in Fier District on 19 September. (1800 GMT 17 Sep 89)

Qirjako Mihali, AWP CC Politburo candidate member attended a ceremony at which collectives and workers were awarded orders and decorations in Mat District on 19 September. (1800 GMT 19 Sep 89)

Pali Miska, AWP CC Politburo member attended a ceremony at which orders and medals were awarded to workers and collectives in Shkoder on 21 September. (Tirana Domestic Albanian 1800 GMT 21 Sep 89)

Simon Stefani, AWP CC Politburo member attends 60th anniversary celebrations of Drashovice Battle, Vlore District, on 17 September. (1800 GMT 17 Sep 89)

Italian Military Delegation's Report Cited

AU2809171989 Sofia BTA in English
1649 GMT 19 Sep 89

["Report on Military Inspection"—BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, September 19 (BTA)—As it has already been announced from August 13 through August 15, this year, in implementation of the Stockholm Document on the Measures for Strengthening of Confidence and Security and for Disarmament in Europe, a group of officers of the Armed Forces of the Republic of Italy, carried out an inspection of military activity in the framework of the "Maritsa 89" exercise of the Bulgarian Army.

The report on the results of the inspection has been received at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. The document informs that the Italian officers have not marked a single violation of the requirements of the Stockholm Document and its spirit and letter have been completely observed by the Bulgarian side.

The Italian officers met with high ranking officers of the Bulgarian Army, as well as with the Minister of National Defense Army General Dobri Dzhurov. They had the opportunity to talk freely with officers of all ranks. They have remained "favourably impressed" by the atmosphere of mutual respect and cordiality established with the Bulgarian hosts during their visit in this country.

The report on the results of the inspection was sent by Italy's Foreign Ministry to all 35 states-participants in the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe and their delegations taking part in the Vienna talks have also been acquainted with its content.

Over 100 kg Heroin Seized From Turkish Trucks

AU2809152489 Sofia BTA in English
1211 GMT 23 Sep 89

[Text] Sofia, September 23 (BTA)—In the last three days the Bulgarian customs officers at the Kapitan Andreevo checkpoint have prevented three attempts at smuggling narcotics through the territory of Bulgaria. A total of 104 kg and 800 g heroin carried from Turkey to Western Europe on Turkish T.I.R. trucks was detected.

On September 17, 32.5 kg heroin were found in the spare tyre and in the air filter both [word as received] of the truck driven by Akkas Ekrem, a Turkish citizen.

On the following day 45 kg heroin were found in the two spare tyres of the truck driven by the Turkish citizen Hamdo Kasran. A little later yet another quantity of 26.8 kg heroin were found in a specially adapted container on the tank of the truck driven by Ele Sezer, citizen of Turkey.

An inquiry is under way.

Zhivkov Receives Greek CP Leader Florakis

AU2809131189 Sofia BTA in English
1259 GMT 19 Sep 89

[Text] Sofia, September 19 (BTA)—Mr Todor Zhivkov, secretary general of the CC [Central Committee] of the BCP [Bulgarian Communist Party] and president of the State Council, had a meeting today with Mr Kharilaos Florakis, chairman of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Greece and chairman of the coalition of the leftist and progressive forces, who is on a brief visit in this country.

They discussed a wide range of questions of the international situation and the situation in the Balkans, of the restructuring and the innovative processes in Bulgaria.

The two sides viewed some new phenomena and tendencies in the development of socialism and the activity of the two parties. Mr Todor Zhivkov informed in detail of the course of the restructuring in the different social spheres in Bulgaria as a constantly improving dynamic process.

The two leaders stressed the great importance of the new approaches, philosophy and practice of the new political thinking, the overall work of the communists among the working people and their unity of action with all honest, democratic and progressive forces.

Mr Todor Zhivkov and Mr Kharilaos Florakis stressed the international significance of the innovative processes underway in the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries. The Greek guest gave positive assessment of the deep restructuring carried out in Bulgaria, as well as her consistent efforts for peace and cooperation in the Balkans, in Europe and in the world.

Mr Kharilaos Florakis analyzed the contribution of the leftist and the progressive forces who struggle together with the Greek Communists for the creation of favourable preconditions for the development of Greece on the road of democracy and social advance, of peace and socialism. These forces are convinced that the disarmament, the elimination of nuclear arms and military bases from foreign territories are the most important way and guarantee for the sovereignty, independence and well-being of the country.

Mr Todor Zhivkov assessed highly the efforts of the coalition of the leftist and progressive forces in Greece for real changes on the road of progress.

Invitations were extended to Mr Grigoris Farakos, secretary general of the Communist Party of Greece, and to the leadership of the coalition of the leftist and progressive forces to visit Bulgaria.

Zhivkov Greets International Women's Session

LD2009112789 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 11 Sep 89 p 1

[Greeting message from Todor Zhivkov, chairman of the State Council, to the session of the Council of the Women's International Democratic Federation, read by Elena Lagadinova, chairman of the Bulgarian Women's Committee and member of the State Council, at the opening ceremony on 12 September in Sofia]

[Text] Esteemed ladies, guests, members of the Council of the Women's International Democratic Federation of [WIDF], I sincerely congratulate you, as distinguished representatives of the international democratic women's movement, on the occasion of your participation in the WIDF Sofia session and I welcome you to Bulgarian territory.

With your energetic efforts and varied activities for equal rights for women, for social progress, democracy, and national independence, and for cooperation in the name of peace, your federation has won legitimate prestige and the recognition of governments, peoples, and the entire world public. We highly appreciate your contribution to establishing positive trends in international relations, and to constructing a world free of wars and weapons.

The new political realities require the increasing involvement of the general public and international organizations and movements in world affairs. They play an important role in solving global problems which are facing mankind today. For this reason the motto of your session, "Challenges of a Dynamically Changing World and Prospects of Development for the WIDF," shows your awareness that the active participation of women in restructuring our contemporary world is an absolute necessity.

Politicians, scientists, and cultural figures, all of those who are striving for a peaceful world and the bright future of the coming generations, rely on women's energetic efforts, sincere involvement, and unshakable optimism. The WIDF, which has always been and will be a source of inspiration and an active organizer of global restructuring, is an important factor in this process.

On behalf of the Bulgarian people and on my own behalf, I wish you success in your work devoted to the even more intense involvement of the international democratic women's movement in the struggle for the happy future of our children and grandchildren and for the survival of mankind.

PRC Leaders Send National Day Greetings

LD2009183989 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 10 Sep 89 p 6

[Text] Todor Zhivkov, general secretary of the Bulgarian Communist Party [BCP] Central Committee and chairman of the State Council, and Georgi Atanasov, chairman of the Council of Ministers, received the following telegram from Jiang Zemin, general secretary of the CPC Central Committee, Yang Shangkun, PRC president, and Li Peng, premier of the PRC State Council:

Dear comrades: On the occasion of 45th anniversary of the victory of socialist revolution in Bulgaria, we ask you to accept ardent national day greetings on behalf of the CPC Central Committee, the Chinese Government, and the Chinese people, and on our personal behalf. It is through you that we extend our greetings to the BCP, the Bulgarian Government, and the Bulgarian people.

Under the leadership of the BCP, the Bulgarian people achieved great successes in socialist revolution and in the construction of socialism over the last decades. We are confident that the Bulgarian people, under your party's leadership, will achieve even greater successes in socialist construction and in the restructuring process.

Our two countries and peoples mutually support and assist each other in revolutionary struggle and in socialist construction. We rejoice at this cooperation and express our satisfaction with the comprehensive development of bilateral relations between China and Bulgaria and our friendly cooperation in recent years. We are profoundly convinced that the comradeship and the friendly relations of cooperation existing between our two parties and countries, between the Chinese and the Bulgarian peoples, will further expand in all spheres.

We express our sincere wishes for the prosperity and well-being of socialist Bulgaria and the Bulgarian people. It is our wish that relations between the CPC and the BCP may further strengthen, while friendship between our two peoples may last throughout the centuries.

Castro Sends National Day Greetings

LD2009181089 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 10 Sep 89 p 1

[Text] Todor Zhivkov, general secretary of the Bulgarian Communist Party [BCP] Central Committee and chairman of the State Council, and Georgi Atanasov, chairman of the Council of Ministers, received the following telegram from Fidel Castro Ruz, first secretary of the Communist Party of Cuba and president of the Council of State and Council of Ministers of Cuba:

Esteemed comrades: On the occasion of the 45th anniversary of Bulgaria's liberation from the fascist regime, I convey most ardent congratulations to you on behalf of the people, the Communist Party, and the Government of the Republic of Cuba.

A new era began in Georgi Dimitrov's homeland with the victory of 9 September 1944. The necessary conditions for the construction of socialism in Bulgaria were established and the world witnessed the strength and talents of a nation which, after a long period of merciless

struggles for its full independence, achieved the well-deserved recognition of its successes in social and cultural development.

The prestige of the People's Republic of Bulgaria has increased to an exceptional extent over the last 45 years, as a result of Bulgaria's resolute solidarity with the struggle for peace and disarmament, for national liberation, for independence, and for the peoples' total sovereignty.

The party, the government, and the people in our country rejoice at the successes achieved by our Bulgarian brothers over the years of persevering labor and they follow with interest your people's efforts to build an effective socialist economy.

We are greatly satisfied with the permanent strengthening of the solid relations between our two countries, which dates back to the days of the victory of Cultural revolution.

On the occasion of your festive national day we wish you, the BCP and the fraternal Bulgarian people even greater new successes in implementing the tasks assigned to you for the sake of prosperity and happiness in your society.

Order on Preserving Buildings Published

AU3009125089 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 19 Sep 89 p 2

[Text] One of the more important acts published in issue 73 of DURZHAVEN VESTNIK is the Order of the former Committee for Territorial and Settlement Structure on Preservation of Buildings and Public Utility Funds in Populated Areas.

The structures to be preserved comprise buildings fit for housing and public services of all types of construction except lath-and-plaster frame-built structures that have not been declared to be cultural monuments or of cultural or historical value. New construction work should be mainly directed toward parts of populated areas that have been developed with lath-and-plaster buildings and dilapidated public utility structures.

The main criterion for the preservation of the building and public utility funds is their suitability for meeting contemporary and future needs in conformity with their specific designated use. It is forbidden to demolish residential buildings fit for occupation or public service buildings of three or more floors, or buildings of one or two floors that have been used for less than three-quarters of their planned life, depending on their construction (150 years for buildings with steel-reinforced concrete frames, 100 years for solid structures, and buildings of composite construction, and 60 years for buildings of semisolid construction). Upon application by the owners, such residential buildings are permitted to be demolished [illegible] if the written agreement of all the owners and the agreement of the municipal people's council have been obtained and if the demolition is in accordance with the provisions of the building and town planning regulations in force. Municipal people's councils are obliged to ensure that the order is observed. They organize the certification of building and public utility funds. The municipal people's councils may carry out questioning of the owners, interested citizens, and organizations managing the building and public utility funds regarding the buildings' preservation and use.

New Territorial Organization Committee Formed

AU3009150989 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 15 Sep 89 p 6

[Extracts from issue 72 of DURZHAVEN VESTNIK.]

[Text]—State Council Decree No. 1.853. The decree closes down the Committee for Territorial and Settlement Structure under the Council of Ministers and creates a Committee for Construction and Territorial Organization under the Council of Ministers. The Council of Ministers is instructed to determine the organs to which the functions of the closed Committee for Territorial and Settlement Structure are to be transferred, as well as the functions and tasks of the Committee for Construction and Territorial Organization.

—State Council Decree No. 1.854. The decree appoints Stefan Markov Nonev as chairman of the Committee for Construction and Territorial Organization under the Council of Ministers.

—Council of Ministers Decree No. 43 of 29 August 1989. Under the decree additional measures are adopted for fulfilling the plan in convertible currency.

The same issue also publishes a bulletin of foreign currency exchange rates in relation to the lev that came into force on 8 September 1989.

Budapest on 'Change of Attitude' Toward Refugees

LD2309175189 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1630 GMT 23 Sep 89

[Text] The number of East German refugees at the FRG Embassy in Prague has now grown to 220. Last night at least 60 people climbed over the embassy fence.

According to unofficial sources, Prague hospitals have been instructed to return refugees to the embassy who may need further treatment after giving them initial treatment at the hospitals. This at all events indicates a change of attitude by the Czechoslovak authorities. Earlier they indicated that they would send refugees back to the GDR.

Border Guards Obstructing GDR Citizens Denied

LD2309114489 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0200 GMT 23 Sep 89

[Text] General Anton Nemec, commander of the Czechoslovak border units, has categorically denied assertions that Czechoslovak forces have prevented East Germans from crossing over to Hungary legally. General Nemec said that the claims that Czechoslovak officials were taking passports and car keys from GDR citizens are completely absurd.

Refugees Treated With 'Unbelievable Brutality'

AU2409130389 Vienna KURIER in German 24 Sep 89 p 7

[Unattributed report: "CSSR: Extradites Refugees in Handcuffs to GDR"]

[Text] Exclusive KURIER photographs testify to the unbelievable brutality of CSSR authorities in their behavior toward GDR refugees who try escape from the CSSR to Hungary. One can speak of a real manhunt, in which the CSSR authorities are supported by plainclothes GDR policemen or policemen in uniforms. About two dozens of refugees are caught every day. They are taken to the Bratislava police headquarters and are closely interrogated there. Then they are taken to the airport in transport vehicles of the Bratislava police carrying the sign "VB." The GDR refugees, including women and children, are handcuffed and dragged to GDR planes at some distance from the check-in hall. Every kind of resistance on the part of the refugees is brutally broken by the police. They are pushed up the gangway and into the plane by two policemen each.

In the plane, the refugees' feet are also clasped in chains which are linked with the handcuffs. In this way, the GDR refugees are transported back to East Berlin in a "humble" and bowed posture.

The GDR passenger cars that are confiscated by the authorities are also taken to Bratislava airport, loaded onto the plane by GDR mechanics, and transported to East Berlin.

Even uniformed GDR police are hunting for people along the border between the CSSR and Hungary.

However, this has not stopped the flow of refugees through the CSSR. Individual GDR citizens even succeed in escaping across the Danube despite the fact that CSSR police and customs authorities permanently patrol the border on three boats.

The refugees often make skillful use of the chaos at the site of the Gabcikovo power plant.

Poland's Rakowski Arrives, Met by Jakes

LD2309072089 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 0600 GMT 23 Sep 89

[Text] Mieczyslaw Rakowski, first secretary of the Polish United Workers Party [PZPR] Central Committee, arrived today on a 1-day friendly working visit to Czechoslovakia at the invitation of the Czechoslovak Communist Party [CPCZ] Central Committee.

The guest was received at Ruzyne Airport in Prague, which was decorated with the state colors of the two countries, by Milos Jakes, general secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee, and by party Presidium members Jan Fojtik, Karel Hoffmann, Ivan Knotek, Jozef Lenart, Miroslav Stepan, and Karel Urbanek.

Also present was the Polish ambassador to Czechoslovakia, Wlodzimierz Mokrzyszczak.

Rise in Smuggling, Police Role Viewed

AU2209112289 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 20 Sep 89 p 7

[Interview with Major Jan Cech, LLD, section chief at the Public Security Corps' Administration for Investigations of the Czech Socialist Republic, in the "Question" column; place and date of interview not given]

[Text] [Question] What is the development of criminal activity involving the violation of regulations governing the circulation of merchandise with foreign countries?

[Cech] Compared with the first all of last year, the number of these criminal acts in the Czech Socialist Republic increased roughly 25 percent. Citizens of the Polish People's Republic arriving in the CSSR as tourists or on transit to the Hungarian People's Republic and Austria account for a significant proportion of these criminal acts. The smugglers use hiding places in motor vehicles and, more recently, they have been smuggling goods unaccompanied, in so-called dead loads. Such loads have been discovered, for example, in the Silesia and Bathory express trains over the most frequented rail border crossing between the Polish People's Republic and the CSSR, at Petrovice in Karvina district. The North Moravia region accounts for one-third of all revealed cases. The goods that are illegally imported most frequently include consumer electronics, textiles, furs, videocassettes, cosmetics, costume jewelry, and

goods for sale at country fairs. However, cases of unauthorized exports from the USSR are not rare either. They concern mainly antiques, precious metals, and postage stamps. Members of the National Security Corps and customs administration bodies are perfecting the forms of their work so as to make their struggle against smuggling, foreign exchange-related criminal activity, and speculation even more effective.

Legal Standpoint on Dam Talks With Hungary

AU2709114589 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 27 Sep 89 p 2

[CTK report: "On the Gabcikovo-Nagymaros Hydropower Project: Czechoslovak Lawyers' Standpoint"]

[Text] Talks between Czechoslovak and Hungarian experts on international law were held in Prague from 18 to 20 September to consider the international legal aspects of the building of the joint Gabcikovo-Nagymaros hydropower project. The Czechoslovak delegation was headed by Professor Otto Kunz, LLD, doctor of sciences. In the course of the talks, the two delegations briefed one another on their international legal standpoints. The delegation of Czechoslovak lawyers has made available to the press the following information on its standpoint.

The Czechoslovak experts assessed the decisions of the Government of the Hungarian People's Republic of 13 May 1989 and 20 July 1989 as unilateral acts, by which it did not comply with the course to be pursued under the agreement of 1977 in tackling disputed questions. At the same time, these acts are at variance with common international contractual law as codified in Article 57 of the Vienna Convention on Contractual Law of 1969.

The unilateral suspension of the carrying out of the agreement and of the concomitant contractual documents on its execution is regarded by the Czechoslovak experts as a violation of commitments arising from the timetable of the construction of the hydropower project.

The Czechoslovak experts pointed to the generally accepted principles of common international law concerning the responsibility of states for the violation of international contractual commitments and their obligation to offset the damage thus caused. In this connection they noted that, by the aforesaid course of the Hungarian People's Republic, the USSR has sustained damage for which the Hungarian People's Republic is obliged to compensate it, in harmony with Article 26 of the 1977 agreement.

The Czechoslovak experts voiced the conviction that the agreement of 1977 and the concomitant contractual documents on its execution and other bilateral agreements concerning ecological questions respected to a sufficient extent the ecological aspects of the construction and operation of the Gabcikovo-Nagymaros system of hydropower projects, and form a sufficient foundation for the mutually agreed and ecologically safe operation of the hydropower project. Among other things, they called attention to the previously expressed readiness of the Czechoslovak side to open talks on the protection of the quality of the water in the Danube in connection with the operation of the hydropower project.

The Czechoslovak experts provided information on the theoretically contemplated possibility of an alternative and temporary technical solution which the Czechoslovak side would be compelled to take up if the Hungarian side unilaterally suspended, either permanently or over the long term, work on the construction of the Gabcikovo section of the system of hydropower projects. The Czechoslovak experts emphasized the temporary nature of this possible solution, whose aim would be to contribute to the fulfillment of the purpose of the agreement of 1977 and, at the same time, to reduce the extent of the damage which the Czechoslovak side would sustain by such a course of action by the Hungarian People's Republic.

The Czechoslovak experts pointed out that the Czechoslovak side is ready to complete the Gabcikovo-Nagymaros system of hydropower projects in accordance with the agreement of 1977, under the condition that the same readiness be also shown by the Hungarian People's Republic and that it compensate Czechoslovakia for the damage it has sustained and will sustain, owing to the unilateral breach of the agreement by the Hungarian side. The Czechoslovak experts noted that they have not ascertained any legal grounds that would preclude the possible implementation of the alternative temporary solution in the form of a countermeasure by the Czechoslovak side. This solution would also have no influence on the present border line between the two states.

Lenart Socialism in Poland, Hungary Threatened

AU2709122189 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 27 Sep 89 p 2

[CTK report: "Support for the Acts of Restructuring"]

[Text] Hradec Kralove—Yesterday's session of the East Bohemian Communist Party of Czechoslovakia [CPCZ] Regional Committee in Hradec Kralove dealt with the educational policy of the party and the state under the conditions of the region. Present at the session was Jozef Lenart, member of the Presidium and secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee.

The session stressed that party organizations, too, must bear responsibility for the creation of the political climate, for the creation of a comradely, critical, and self-critical atmosphere.

Jozef Lenart took the floor during the debate. He voiced appreciation for the efforts of the regional committee to activate party bodies and organizations and all communists in connection with preparations for the 18th CPCZ Congress. In another part of his speech he dealt with some topical questions concerning the progress of restructuring and the democratization of life in our

society. He emphasized that restructuring is inevitable for our society, that it is the only possibility of a path leading forward.

We expect, self-evidently, the public discussions on the documents which are now on the drawing board to concentrate suggestions and comments. However, at the same time we expect these discussions to galvanize the broad strata of the working people into support for the aims of restructuring and their implementation.

Jozef Lenart dealt extensively with the present international situation. He said that, although there no longer exists a direct threat of a military conflagration, it has not been averted forever. Questions of European security and cooperation have priority in our foreign political efforts. As Jozef Lenart stressed, we are fully prepared to take an active part in the development of the all-European process on an equal basis and in all its domains, in the spirit of the conclusions of the CSCE and the Vienna follow-up meeting.

By giving examples he showed what content restructuring in the socialist countries has in the interpretation of some Western countries. He focused attention on the situation in Poland and Hungary. Developments in these countries also arouse the Czechoslovak public's increased interest. Jozef Lenart said that severe economic problems have built up in the two countries, which are reflected in the growth of social tensions and in the activation of antisocialist structures. The situation that has arisen can in its consequences jeopardize their socialist development. We express full solidarity with the revolutionary, patriotic, and democratic forces in Hungary and Poland, which seek a socialist path of development, defend the values of socialism and the sovereignty of their nations, and work toward the traditionally good relations with the USSR, the CPCZ Central Committee secretary stressed.

Lenart Receives Romanian Official 19 Sep

AU2109103389 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 20 Sep 89 p 2

[CTK report: "Romanian Guest Received by J. Lenart"]

[Text] Prague—On Tuesday [19 September] Jozef Lenart, Communist Party of Czechoslovakia [CPCZ] Central Committee Presidium member and secretary, received Tamara Dobrin, executive chairperson of the Romanian Socialist Republic Social Democratic and Unity Front National Council. In a friendly conversation, he emphasized the importance of the broad cooperation between the social organizations of both countries, the organizations affiliated in the National Front and in the Social Democratic and Unity Front, for the comprehensive development of Czechoslovak-Romanian relations and he also expressed the necessity of implementing new and more effective forms of this cooperation. They briefed each other on the preparations for the 18th CPCZ Congress and the 14th Romanian Communist Party Congress.

Rudolf Rohlicek, member of the CPCZ Central Committee secretariat and deputy chairman of the CSSR National Front Central Committee, and George Homostean, Romanian ambassador to the CSSR, were present at the reception.

Kramnik Receives USSR, GDR Coal Ministers

AU2709144289 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 27 Sep 89 p 2

[CTK report in the "International Contacts" column]

[Text] Michael Shchadov, USSR minister of the coal industry, and Wolfgang Mitzinger, GDR minister of coal and energy, were received by Antonin Kramnik, CSSR minister of fuels and power, in Prague on Wednesday [20 September]. They considered some socioeconomic aspects of the further development of coal mining in individual countries, as well as ecological issues.

CPSU Early Congress Decision Viewed

AU2709141389 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 27 Sep 89 p 7

[Jan Tibitzis commentary: "Advancing Toward the 28th Congress"]

[Text] The 28th CPSU Congress has been convened for October of next year. As we have already reported, the CPSU Central Committee made this decision on Tuesday [19 September]. This is the first CPSU congress in several decades which will take place before the start of the new Soviet 5-year plan. The last congress took place in February-March 1986.

The social changes, initiated by the CPSU Central Committee April session and the 27th congress, are substantially altering life in the Soviet Union. The political and economic structures are changing and the course of these changes, which concern the interests of millions of people, sometimes causes bitter and explosive reactions. Contradictory opinions are also cropping up in appraising the processes that are under way. Much has been done and many mistakes have been made, but a starting point in the direction toward an efficient economy is still being sought. It is necessary to evaluate development to date, to summarize all the information, and to make decisions about the further tasks of Soviet domestic policy.

The Soviet Communists are also discussing the necessity of implementing profound changes in the party itself. The current activity of a number of party organs is still in the grip of the old structures, rules, and guidelines—as was stated at the CPSU Central Committee session which has just come to an end. There are many people who have not yet crossed the barriers of earlier stereotypes.

It is impossible to underestimate such a situation. Today—when the radical economic and social changes

are gathering steam and where political discussion inevitably flares up around the key problems of social development—the clearest word of the CPSU on matters of organizational and ideological work and, mainly, on ability to unite party ranks for tasks of exceptionally significance.

A little over a year remains in order to prepare for the congress. Already during the course of the annual CPSU membership meetings complicated issues in the country's life are being considered extremely frankly. The renewal of the management structures of the party committees at all levels is one of the important steps to be taken in the precongress period.

Next spring an important stimulus will certainly be the publication of the CPSU Central Committee's political platform which, after being debated at the congress, should become the action program for the very near future. Its purpose will obviously be to define more precisely the CPSU program adopted at the last congress and bring it into harmony with the new realities which the era of restructuring has brought.

The congress will also discuss the party's new statutes which contain, among other things, the relationship of various party structures to organizations, an expansion of the rights of the communist parties in the union republics, and a number of other democratic steps which have already been partially outlined at the 19th CPSU nationwide conference.

Besides preparations for the congress, the preparations for the upcoming elections to republic and local soviets, which undoubtedly will become a test not only of the political reforms being implemented concurrently with economic reform, but also of the CPSU's capability for action, also require considerable effort.

The CPSU Central Committee session has now dealt with one of the most complicated and most delicate internal political issues—the nationalities problem. Much was also said at the session concerning disturbing phenomena in society in general. Many points were raised in the discussion, pointing out that the country is standing face to face with political extremes "from the left" and the right. The CPSU has given a concrete response to many of these specific problems and it has appealed to Soviet communists and the Soviet people to make determined efforts to overcome the present difficulties.

The CPSU congresses have always been, by right, events of international importance, events whose influence far exceeded the boundaries of one country. There is no doubt that it will be the same this time.

The Communist Party of the Soviet Union was and is the source of important lessons for us. Everything which is proven by the execution of Soviet restructuring and everything that can be linked to our own experience is a stimulus for us. As Comrade Milos Jakes said at the 14th Communist Party of Czechoslovakia Central Committee session, "the processes of revolutionary change under way in Soviet society undoubtedly are and will continue to be stimulating for us."

For us and other socialist countries which are now undergoing important transformations an exchange of experiences on the further course of the process of restructuring and democratization is vitally essential. Each country proceeds in accordance with its own conditions, however we have common aims—the further improvement and development of socialism. It is not necessary to doubt that the 28th CPSU Congress will give many valuable stimuli to the whole of the international communist movement for its implementation of the construction of socialism.

Letter on Soviet 'Vilification of Past' Reported

AU [illegible]

[Editorial report] Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak on 20 September on page 7 carries an 800-word article by Vladislav Jancura, the paper's correspondent in Moscow, entitled "I Believe in the Party." The article summarizes a letter from prewar party member Ignat Chrbukin from the Krasnodar krai which SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA published on 19 September.

Jancura quotes Chrbukin as having complained about the "general vilification of the past and the tarnishing of Soviet history," in the present-day USSR which is reportedly aimed at "defaming Great October and the party of the Communists." Chrbukin is also said to have criticized in his letter the "tendentiousness" of "some" media in the USSR which "have opened the floodgates for sweeping vilification of party cadres, under the pretext of pluralism of views," and to have attributed the growing crime rate in the Soviet Union to the "defamations of the past decades, disrespect for the older generations, the steadily growing influence of mass culture, the devaluation of the spiritual values of socialism, and the stimulation of the rush for profit and property."

Jancura points out that SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA published the letter "on its front page where it usually publishes only editorials and seminal articles, which shows what importance the editorial office ascribes to the contributions of its reader." He also notes that Chrbukin's contribution "is likely to meet with the same public response as the letter from the Leningrad professor Nina Andreyeva, also in SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA, some time ago."

Chinese Trade Delegation Received in Bratislava

AU [illegible]
in Slovak 20 Sep 89 p 7

[Unattributed report on the "International Contacts" column "On the Exchange of Goods"]

[Text] Yesterday in Bratislava Kazimir Nagy, Slovak Socialist Republic minister of trade and tourism,

received a Chinese delegation headed by Zhang Shiyan, deputy minister of commerce. They discussed the possibility of cooperating in the sphere of exchanging goods from domestic stocks as well as the possibility of founding joint enterprises.

PRC Delegation 'Thoroughly' Studies Education

AU2209084089 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 20 Sep 89 p 2

[CTK report in the "International Contacts" column]

[Text] A PRC delegation led by Zou Shiyan, vice minister of the PRC State Education Commission, was received by Jana Synkova, minister of education, youth and physical training of the Czech Socialist Republic, in Prague on Tuesday [19 September]. The Chinese guests want to acquaint themselves thoroughly with the administration of education in the CSSR and with the training of university students, especially future pedagogues.

End of Brno Fair, Contracts Reported

AU2209114289 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 21 Sep 89 p 1

["pk"-signed report: "International Engineering Fair Ended; Contracts Worth Almost Kcs26 Billion"]

[Excerpts] Brno (from our correspondent)— Some 450,000 visitors acquainted themselves with the exhibits of the 31st Brno International Engineering Fair, which ended on Wednesday [20 September]. This year's fair, too, confirmed the interest of foreign partners in further reinforcing cooperation with Czechoslovak enterprises and our manufacturing organizations, increased endeavor to establish new contacts and to show the best they produce. [passage omitted]

Foreign trade enterprises made use of their presence at the fair for contractual negotiations. There were almost 6,000 of them, mainly with representatives of firms from nonsocialist countries. The outcome is agreements on trade exchange worth almost Kcs26 billion. The agreements concern deliveries in the remaining part of this year and in the subsequent years. The largest commercial transactions have been agreed upon with the Soviet Union, the GDR, Poland, the PRC, Romania, Bulgaria, and Austria. Mostokov, for example, will import 110 ambulance cars. [passage omitted]

A marked feature of this year's fair was the establishment of new contacts between Czechoslovak enterprises and foreign partners aimed at possible cooperation. Most of these talks were with firms from the PRC, Poland, Austria, and Finland and concerned the joint production of medical technology, hydraulic elements, equipment for environmental protection, as well as components for engineering and the building industry.

Increase in CSSR-FRG Trade Figures Reported

AU2209101989 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 19 Sep 89 p 6

["(ZR)"-signed report: "CSSR-FRG Trade"]

[Text] The Federal Republic of Germany is our biggest trading partner from the developed capitalist states. In 1988, the volume of FRG exports to the CSSR amounted to DM[2] 4.38 billion. Of this amount, 38 percent (DM[1] 1 million) was accounted for by plant and equipment. Last year, the CSSR, in turn, exported goods valued at DM[2] 1.99 billion to the FRG. So far, this year's exchange of goods indicates that the figures for 1989 will be even higher.

The FRG is by far the largest exhibitor from the Western states at the Brno Engineering Fair, which is currently under way. Seven hundred and twenty West German companies are participating in the Brno fair and 372 of these companies have their own expositions. The overwhelming majority of FRG exhibits are engineering products.

CSCE Delegate Sees First Round as 'Promising'

LD1509193889 Prague CTK in English 1600 GMT 15 Sep 89

[Text] Vienna Sept 15 (CTK correspondent)— "Fundamental point of support for our further joint effort is a number of equal essential approaches contained in the submitted proposals," head of the Czechoslovak delegation to the Conference on Security and Confidence-Building measures Ladislav Balcar said at a plenary meeting of the 35 participating countries on the conference here Friday on the ended first stage of the talks.

"We regard the proposals submitted at the end of the first stage as promising, for we have already overcome the imaginary dividing line which often becomes a great obstacle on the way towards an agreement", Ladislav Balcar said.

One of the issues of joint interest is the preparation for a seminar on military doctrines. Ladislav Balcar said, expressing belief that the seminar will take place at the beginning of 1990.

Commentary Defends Czechoslovak Status in World

AU2209164889 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 19 Sep 89 p 2

[Zdenek Hoffmann commentary: "Apropos Services Evaluation"]

[Text] Recently, competing tables and rankings has become a trend which is spreading into various spheres of our lives. In some areas, for example in sports, such tables and rankings are justified and explain the situation objectively, but only in those cases that we can evaluate unambiguously—points in competitions, the

number of goals, athletic records, and so on. Such tables have their own significance. However, if, while making comparisons, we abandon appreciable or measurable data, the tables or rankings lose their capacity to reflect facts and may lead to false conclusions. This also applies in evaluating the spheres of social life, including the economy.

A number of readers who had watched the television program Economic Diary on Friday, 29 August, pointed this out to us. The program's guest, Eng Milos Zeman, said that Czechoslovakia in recent years has moved from 10th place in the world to 40th place; that in scientific-technical development we are at the level of Algeria or Peru and far below Portugal; and that in the development of qualifications, from the viewpoint of changes in the education and training system, we are behind Nepal. He also stated several other facts.

What did the author want to say in these equivocal and dubious sentences? Can this really force one to think seriously? When we compare something we must also clarify the criterium according to which we are drawing up the table. Eng M. Zeman did not do this. He literally shot some information from the hip without any explanation and justification. On what basis did he rank us in this particular place in the world? How did he arrive at his evaluation of the comparable standard of scientific-technical development?

Here is one such example. M. Zeman stated that in the development of qualifications, from the point of view of the pace of changes to the education and training system, Czechoslovakia is in 50th place (!) in the world, apparently—as he unequivocally stated—behind Nepal. In an interview with the editor of Czechoslovak Television, he revealed his "talent" for manipulating statistical data. To make his claims he is obviously depending on assertions which can be based on the very low level of development in this and in a number of other countries. It is obvious that the pace of changes to the education and training system in Czechoslovakia, which in this respect belongs amongst the most advanced countries, is in comparison with, for instance, Nepal, objectively slower.

However, what aim was M. Zeman pursuing by using this figure and this comparison?

Let us detail, out of interest, data on the comparative standard of education and training in the CSSR and Nepal from the figures of the UNESCO 1988 Yearbook. The size of the population of both countries is roughly the same: Nepal has 16.6 million inhabitants and the CSSR has 15.5 million. In Nepal in 1981 there were 7 million illiterate people, that is, 80 percent of the population over the age of 15; the CSSR is not listed on the table of countries with illiterate people. In Nepal, 79 percent of all pupils attend primary school for 5 years; in the CSSR, 97 percent of all pupils attend school for 10 years. In Nepal in 1985, 503,000 pupils attended secondary schools (supplementing their 5 years of primary education); in the same year in the CSSR there were 1,142,000 pupils who attended secondary school for 4 years. In 1984 there were 39 university students per 100,000 inhabitants in Nepal; in the CSSR that figure is 1,129 students per 100,000 inhabitants. In Nepal in 1984, 16,864 children attended kindergartens, while in the CSSR in 1986 a total of 668,654 children attended kindergartens. Expenditure on education calculated as a percentage of the gross national product was 3 percent in Nepal in 1985 and 5.1 percent in the CSSR.

Fundamental sins against the currently used pseudoscientific arguments and the selection of some useless and silly comparisons make one wonder what actually lies behind such evaluations. What is the purpose of them? It is difficult to correct shortcomings. After all, no one is claiming that in our society everything is in order or that we do not have economic and ecological problems. This has already been said many times at Communist Party of Czechoslovakia Central Committee sessions, in the CSSR Government's policy statement, and in the speech by its premier, L. Adamec, at the Federal Assembly in June of this year, when, among other things, he gave a detailed analysis of the development of the national economy to date. Therefore, we have also proceeded to implement fundamental economic reforms, and therefore we are now taking the first steps toward solving all of the problems which have come about in our lives.

In this television program M. Zeman also demands restructuring. However, he does not see that this is the direction in which we are heading and that this is the main instrument of changes. It is impossible to take even the shortcomings of development so far as a negation of the past. Instead, and first and foremost, we should take them as a starting point for working out how to proceed further. It is necessary to view the past more flexibly, not only on the basis of a few figures.

Budapest Reports Writer Havel Under Arrest

LD2309171589 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1600 GMT 23 Sep 89

[Text] In Prague writer Vaclav Havel has been under arrest for several hours already, shortly after he temporarily undertook the office of spokesman for the Charter 77 opposition movement. Aleksandr Vondra, the real spokesman, is currently in prison. Havel was preparing to meet another Charter 77 activist when he was arrested in front of the latter's house. According to the writer, the authorities wanted merely to frustrate the meeting; they did not launch any new proceedings against him.

Charter 77 Critics Get Journalism Prizes

AU2109091589

[Editorial report] Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech on 20 September on page 1 carries a 500-word CTK report on the presentation of this year's Julius Fucik journalism prizes at Bratislava Castle on 19 September. The report notes that the "main prize" went to "a collective of

RUDE PRAVO staff journalists—Marie Bendova, Jiri Jamoukovec, Jaromir Kozar and Karel Walter—for important journalistic materials contributing to the struggle for the restructuring of our society and exposing the true designs of the enemies of socialism." Monitor notes that the four RUDE PRAVO journalists were the authors of a six-part series, carried by RUDE PRAVO and Bratislava PRAVDA in January 1989, dealing with the activities and aims of Charter 77 and other opposition groups.

Monitor also observes that one of the three recipients of the "Czechoslovak Journalism Prizes for 1989," which were presented by President Gustav Husak on 15 September, was Karel Horak, chief editor of TRIBUNA, who is also known for his articles condemning the activities of Czechoslovak opposition.

CPCZ Statutes, Party Internal Life Discussed

AU2109092489 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 20 Sep 89 p 2

[CTK report: "CPCZ Central Committee Commissions Convened"]

[Text] Prague—A joint meeting of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia [CPCZ] Central Committee Standing Commission For Questions of the Internal Life of the Party and the CPCZ Central Committee Commission For Amending the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia Statutes took place yesterday under the chairmanship of Karel Hoffmann, CPCZ Central Committee Presidium member and secretary.

The draft CPCZ statutes, discussed by the Presidium on 25 August 1989, were considered at the meeting. The Commissions recommended that some partial amendments be made and they supported the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium's decision to submit the draft of this document to the 18th CPCZ Central Committee session.

The Commission For Questions of the Internal Life of the Party further discussed several issues of internal party activity associated with the comprehensive preparations for the 18th CPCZ Congress. In a matter-of-fact and frank discussion, experiences from the preparation and selection of workers for acceptance as party members, the training of candidate members and young members for party membership, knowledge gained from experimentation with changes to the apparatus structure in selected party district committees, and experiences from the work of party committees in state enterprises were considered. Other topical issues concerning the party's internal life were also discussed.

New History, Civics Textbooks Planned

AU1809115589

[Editorial report] Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech on 11 September carries 3,000-word "excerpts" from the speech by Jana Synkova, minister of education, youth and physical training of the Czech Socialist Republic, and 1,200-word "excerpts" from the speech by Ludovit Kolar, minister of education, youth and physical training of the Slovak Socialist Republic, at the national teachers' conference held in Prague on 8 to 9 September.

In her speech, Synkova discusses the work of the Czech Ministry of Education after the 13th session of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia Central Committee, which was devoted to the problems of education in the context of the policy of restructuring and democratization. Speaking about the "innovation" of the curriculum, she mentions that the curricula of primary schools (grades 1 through 8) are being "amended" in response to the criticism that pupils are "overburdened." She also notes that the work on "new textbooks is fully under way," with "special attention being devoted to the textbooks for local history and geography [vlastiveda] for the third and fourth grades, and to all history and civics textbooks for primary schools."

Synkova also discusses planned amendments to the existing legislation on primary and secondary schools, universities, and the state administration of schools. In this context, she says that the planned amendment "codifies in a new way the implementation of 10-year mandatory school attendance" by making it possible "for pupils who lack the prerequisites for the successful completion of 10 years of school attendance to transfer to practical social activity." Under the proposed changes, primary and secondary schools should also be entitled to "independently engage in economic activity" and to use the funds obtained in this way for the schools' development.

In one passage, Synkova also refers to the "political situation" in schools. She says: "It arises from an analysis of the political situation at schools that the majority of pupils and students do not yield to the influence of groups which today seek the destabilization of socialism in our country. However, these facts must not make us complacent. In the process of democratization and the implementation of the policy of openness and glasnost', ideological clashes will occur among young people. We must also be prepared to face the fact that antisocialist forces will try to exploit the self-evident inexperience of our youth."

Ludovit Kolar discusses, among other issues, the impact of democratization on the management of schools, particularly the expansion of the rights of the "lower links of management." He notes that university teachers are entitled to change up to 30 percent of the curriculum and to lower the extent of "mandatory instruction" by 10 to 20 percent and replace it with "independent study." They are also said to have been given greater freedom in the choice of recommended reading.

Speaking about the ongoing "reassessment of the management of schools," he also mentions that the ministry has abolished 65 out of 120 "administrative acts" as "superfluous," that it has "significantly curtailed" the

number of written and statistical reports which superior agencies and social organizations can demand from schools, and that school directors have been instructed not to demand from teachers a written evaluation of their own work. To guarantee the "disruption-free work of schools," social organizations have also been instructed to organize all undertakings for pupils and teachers after school. In this context, Kolar mentions the results of a survey which revealed that teachers' participation in various training courses, conferences, and other events organized by school authorities or social organizations accounts for 58.5 percent of all classes missed at secondary schools and for 19 percent of classes missed at primary schools.

Youth Union Cadre Changes Announced

AU2709165889 Prague MLADA FRONTA in Czech 18 Sep 89 p 3

[''The Main Cadre Changes Discussed and Approved at the Eighth Socialist Youth Union Central Committee Session'']

[Text] The Socialist Youth Union [SSM] Central Committee has released V. Elias and C. Preka from their posts as members of the SSM Central Committee and the SSM Central Committee Presidium. It has also released M. Mouckova from her post as member of the Secretariat and head of the SSM Central Committee Propaganda and Agitation Department. The SSM Central Committee has elected P. Controvsky, born 16 July 1953, head of the Political Main Administration Youth Department of the Czechoslovak People's Army, to the post of member of the SSM Central Committee Presidium; M. Mouckova, born 18 March 1954, chief editor of MLADA FRONTA, to the post of member of the SSM Central Committee Presidium and A. Kysely, born 27 March 1957, head of the SSM Central Committee Propaganda and Agitation Department, to the post of member of the SSM Central Committee Secretariat. The SSM Central Committee also confirmed I. Sadovsky, born 30 August 1963, for the post of chairman of the SSM Central Committee Central Audit Commission. The SSM Central Committee also approved M. Chalupecky for the post of head of the SSM Central Committee Special Interest Activity Department, J. Papez for the post of head of the SSM Central Committee Scientific-Technical Activity Department, and Z. Rapko for the post of head of the SSM Central Committee Social and Legal Affairs Department.

Leaders' Appearances for 7-20 Sep Published

AU2009165789

[Editorial report] Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech, Prague VECERNI PRAHA in Czech, Prague PRACE in Czech, and Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak from 8 to 21 September report the following appearances of CSSR leaders (sources/times given in parentheses):

Josef Haman and Karel Urbanek addressed a Central Bohemian regional party organization session on the importance of the Communist Party's leading role in building and defending socialism, in Kladno on 7 September (RUDE PRAVO 8 Sep 89 p 2).

Milos Jakes, accompanied by Ladislav Adamec, Jan Fojtik, Frantisek Hanus, Pavel Hrivnak, Ivan Knotek, Josef Lenart, Miroslav Stepan, and Miroslav Zavadil, attended a National Day reception at the Bulgarian embassy in Prague on 7 September (RUDE PRAVO 8 Sep 89 p 2).

Miroslav Stepan, accompanied by Karel Urbanek, attended a National Day reception at the DPRK embassy in Prague on 7 September (RUDE PRAVO 8 Sep 89 p 2).

Milos Jakes, in the presence of Josef Lenart, received France Albert Rene, president of the Republic of Seychelles, in Prague on 8 September (RUDE PRAVO 9 Sep 89 p 1).

Milos Jakes, in the presence of Josef Lenart and Jaromir Johanes, hosted a dinner in honor of France Albert Rene, president of the Republic of Seychelles, in Prague on 8 September (RUDE PRAVO 9 Sep 89 p 1).

Gustav Husak, in the presence of Jaromir Johanes, received the King of Nepal in Prague on 8 September (RUDE PRAVO 9 Sep 89 p 1).

Milos Jakes, accompanied by Ladislav Adamec, Jan Fojtik, Pavel Hrivnak, Ignac Janak, Frantisek Pitra, Karel Urbanek, and Miroslav Zavadil, attended the opening of the national teachers' conference in Prague on 8 September (RUDE PRAVO 9 Sep 89 p 1).

Gustav Husak, in the presence of Jaromir Johanes, received France Albert Rene, president of the Republic of Seychelles, in Prague on 11 September (PRAVDA 12 Sep 89 p 1).

Gustav Husak, in the presence of Jaromir Johanes, received Tserenpilon Gombosuren, Mongolian minister of foreign affairs, in Prague on 11 September (PRAVDA 12 Sep 89 p 1).

Milos Jakes, accompanied by Miroslav Stepan, watched the CSSR ice hockey team defeat the Calgary Flames in Prague on 11 September (RUDE PRAVO 12 Sep 89 p 8).

Jaromir Johanes, in the presence of Frantisek Kincl, hosted a gala dinner in honor of Tserenpilon Gombosuren, Mongolian minister of foreign affairs, in Prague on 11 September (PRAVDA 12 Sep 89 p 1).

Miroslav Stepan, accompanied by Josef Lenart, attended a National Day reception at the Ethiopian embassy in Prague on 12 September (RUDE PRAVO 13 Sep 89 p 2).

Vladimir Herman, accompanied by Frantisek Hanus, attended the opening of the Engineering Fair in Brno on 12 September (RUDE PRAVO 13 Sep 89 p 1).

Milos Jakes, on the presence of Josef Lenart, received So Yon-suk, member of the DPRK Politburo, in Prague on 14 September. (RUDE PRAVO 15 Sep 89 p 1)

Milos Jakes, accompanied by Gustav Husak, Ladislav Adamec, Jan Fojtik, Josef Haman, Frantisek Hanus, Vladimir Herman, Karel Hoffmann, Pavel Hrivnak, Alois Indra, Ivan Knotek, Josef Lenart, Frantisek Pitra, Miroslav Stepan, Karel Urbanek, Miroslav Zapc, and Miroslav Zavadil, attended the opening of a national conference of the leading secretaries of party regional and district committees, in Prague on 15 September. (RUDE PRAVO 16 Sep 89 pp 1, 2)

Gustav Husak, in the presence of Jan Fojtik and Josef Lenart, presented this year's journalism prizes, in Prague on 15 September. (RUDE PRAVO 16 Sep 89 p 1)

Milos Jakes, accompanied by Ladislav Adamec, Gustav Husak, Jan Fojtik, Josef Haman, Vladimir Herman, Karel Hoffmann, Pavel Hrivnak, Alois Indra, Ivan Knotek, Josef Lenart, Frantisek Pitra, Miroslav Stepan, Karel Urbanek, Miroslav Zapc, and Miroslav Zavadil, attended the second day of the national conference of the leading secretaries of party regional and district committees, in Prague on 16 September. (PRAVDA 18 Sep 89 p 1)

Milos Jakes, accompanied by Vladimir Herman, toured the Brno Engineering Fair on 18 September. (PRAVDA 19 Sep 89 p 1)

Ivan Knotek and Pavel Hrivnak visited the Brno Engineering Fair on 19 September. (RUDE PRAVO 20 Sep 89 p 2)

Josef Lenart, Jan Fojtik, and Jaromir Johanes held talks with Rabbi Arthur Schneier, president of the U.S. Appeal of Conscience church foundation, in Prague on 19 September. (RUDE PRAVO 20 Sep 89 p 2)

Jan Fojtik, CPCZ Central Committee Presidium member and secretary, received the chief editors of the Polish and Mongolian theoretical party journals, in Prague on 7 September. (RUDE PRAVO 8 Sep 89 p 2) He presented awards to journalists on Press Day, in Prague on 14 September. (RUDE PRAVO 15 Sep 89 p 1) He received Guenther Poetschke, director general of the ADN press agency, in Prague on 14 September. (RUDE PRAVO 15 Sep 89 p 2)

Josef Haman, candidate member of the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium and leading secretary of the CPCZ Central Bohemian Regional Committee, presented the Order of Labor to Lubos Makovsky, in Prague on 14 September. (PRAVDA 15 Sep 89 p 2)

Frantisek Hanus, CPCZ Central Committee secretary, paid a visit to the Tesla Iron Works on 8 September. (RUDE PRAVO 9 Sep 89 p 2) He attended a festival of peace and CSSR-Soviet friendship, in Jihlava on 9 September. (PRAVDA 11 Sep 89 p 2) He paid a visit to the Rakovnik district on 11 September. (PRAVDA 12 Sep 89 p 2) He visited an ecological institute in Kosetice and Cernymi Lesy and the Tesla plant in Kolin on 20 September. (RUDE PRAVO 21 Sep 89 p 2)

Karel Hoffmann, CPCZ Central Committee Presidium member and secretary, visited the "Land-the-Provider" exhibition in Ceske Budejovice on 8 September. (RUDE PRAVO 9 Sep 89 p 2) He chaired a joint session of CPCZ Central Committee Commissions on Internal Party Life and the CPCZ Statutes, in Prague on 19 September. (PRAVDA 20 Sep 89 p 2)

Pavel Hrivnak, Slovak Socialist Republic premier, received Giovanni Castellani Pastoris, Italian ambassador to the CSSR, who was paying a courtesy visit to Slovakia, in Bratislava on 11 September. (PRAVDA 12 Sep 89 p 2) He chaired a consultative meeting on the tasks of the national committees, in Bratislava on 13 September. (PRAVDA 14 Sep 89 p 1) He received Chinichi Kato, Japanese ambassador to the CSSR, who was paying a courtesy visit to Slovakia, in Bratislava on 18 September. (PRAVDA 19 Sep 89 p 1) He presented the Order of Labor to Josef Tomanovec, chairman of the Trnava district national committee, in Bratislava on 18 September. (PRAVDA 19 Sep 89 p 2)

Alois Indra, chairman of the CSSR Federal Assembly, received Hamid Reza Hemmi, ambassador of the Islamic Republic of Iran to the CSSR, and Mohammad Aziz, ambassador of the Republic of Afghanistan to the CSSR, in Prague on 19 September. (RUDE PRAVO 20 Sep 89 p 2)

Ignac Janak, member of the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium and first secretary of the Communist Party of Slovakia Central Committee, presented the Order of Victorious February to Jaroslav Kanak, the former Slovak deputy premier, on the occasion of his 60th birthday, in Bratislava on 7 September. (RUDE PRAVO 8 Sep 89 p 2)

Ivan Knotek, CPCZ Central Committee Presidium member and secretary, attended a Miners Day rally in Karvina on 8 September. (RUDE PRAVO 9 Sep 89 p 2) He received the participants in a conference of the heads of socioeconomic departments of the fraternal communist parties, in Prague on 12 September. (RUDE PRAVO 13 Sep 89 p 2) He attended an aktiv of the State Planning Commission in Prague on 18 September. (PRAVDA 19 Sep 89 p 1)

Josef Lenart, CPCZ Central Committee Presidium member and secretary, received Bruno Mahlow, deputy chief of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany International Relations Department, in Prague on 7 September. (RUDE PRAVO 8 Sep 89 p 2) He bade farewell to France Albert Rene, president of the Republic of Seychelles, who had just ended his visit to the CSSR, at Ruzyne Airport in Prague on 11 September. (PRAVDA 12 Sep 89 p 1) He received Tamara Dobrin, executive chairperson of the Romanian Socialist Republic Social Democratic and Unity Front National Council, in Prague on 19 September. (RUDE PRAVO 20 Sep 89 p 2) He made a speech on developments in neighboring socialist countries at a session of the East Bohemia

regional party committee in Hradec Kralove on 21 September (PRAVDA 23 Sep 89 p 2)

Frantisek Pitra, member of the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium and Czech Socialist Republic premier, attended a session of the Czech National Council Presidium in Prague on 7 September (RUDE PRAVO 8 Sep 89 p 2) He received Josef Ratzenboeck, governor of Upper Austria, in Prague on 7 September (RUDE PRAVO 8 Sep 89 p 2) He received the newly appointed bishops of Olomouc and Litomerice, who had just taken an oath of allegiance to the republic, in Prague on 11 September (PRAVDA 12 Sep 89 p 2)

Miroslav Stepan, member of the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium and leading secretary of the Prague CPCZ City Committee, visited post offices in Prague on 7 September (PRAVDA 8 Sep 89 p 2) He addressed staff and students at Charles University Philosophical Faculty at the beginning of the new academic year, in Prague on 11 September (RUDE PRAVO 12 Sep 89 p 2) He presented journalism prizes in Prague on 13 September (RUDE PRAVO 14 Sep 89 p 2) He visited those constructing the new line of Prague's subway on 14 September (PRAVDA 15 Sep 89 p 2) He attended the RUDE PRAVO festival marking Press Day, in Prague on 17 September (PRAVDA 18 Sep 89 p 1) He was present at the inauguration of postgraduate managerial courses at the Economics College in Prague on 18 September (VECERNI PRAHA 18 Sep 89 p 1) He visited the newly opened canteen at the Economics College in Prague on 20 September (RUDE PRAVO 21 Sep 89 p 2)

Karel Urbanek, member of the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium and chairman of the Committee For Party Work in the Czech Socialist Republic, headed a delegation of the Czech National Front at a meeting with the Czech Government Presidium, in Prague on 20 September (RUDE PRAVO 21 Sep 89 p 2) He chaired a session of the Czech National Front Central Committee in Prague on 20 September (RUDE PRAVO 21 Sep 89 p 2)

Miroslav Zaps, CPCZ Central Committee secretary, chaired a meeting of regional party secretaries for agriculture, in Prague on 12 September (RUDE PRAVO 13 Sep 89 p 2) He visited the "Garden of Bohemia" agricultural exhibition in Litomerice on 18 September (PRAVDA 19 Sep 89 p 2)

Miroslav Zavadil, member of the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium and chairman of the Central Trade Union Council, chaired a meeting of the CPCZ Central Committee Commission for Social Policy, in Prague on 13 September (RUDE PRAVO 14 Sep 89 p 2) He met with Sandor Nagy, general secretary of Hungarian SZOT trade unions, in Prague on 18 September (PRACE 19 Sep 89 p 1)

Jaromir Johanes, CSSR minister of foreign affairs, welcomed Tserenpilon Gombosuren, Mongolian minister of foreign affairs, on his arrival in Prague on 8 September (RUDE PRAVO 9 Sep 89 p 1) He made farewell to Tserenpilon Gombosuren, who had just ended his visit to the CSSR, at Ruzyne Airport in Prague on 11 September (PRAVDA 12 Sep 89 p 2) He received Cemap Kerkin, ambassador of the Republic of Turkey to the CSSR, who is ending his tour of duty, in Prague on 19 September (RUDE PRAVO 20 Sep 89 p 2) He received Michael Heseltine, MP, in Prague on 18 September (RUDE PRAVO 19 Sep 89 p 2)

Frantisek Kincl, CSSR minister of the interior, gave a news conference on Press Day, in Prague on 20 September (RUDE PRAVO 21 Sep 89 p 2)

SED, CPSU Social Scientists Stress Ties

AU2209112389 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 20 Sep 89 p 2

[SED report: "Conference on 40 Years of Friendship and Cooperation Between the GDR and the USSR"]

[Text] Berlin—The friendship and comprehensive cooperation with the CPSU and the USSR were and are a decisive basis of our development, and we will do everything to strengthen this basis further, said Professor Otto Reinhold, rector of the Academy of Social Sciences of the Central Committee of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED], at a scientific-propagandistic conference held in the House of Soviet Sciences and Culture in Berlin on Tuesday [19 September] on the topic "40 Years on the Road of Friendship and Cooperation." Taking part in the conference were social scientists from the SED and the CPSU as well as propagandists and German-Soviet friendship collectives from our country.

The founding of the GDR represented the most serious defeat of German imperialism after 1945. Professor Reinhold stressed that as all the world can see, the GDR has proved to be an antifascist and socialist alternative to the capitalist FRG and is today a politically stable, economically efficient socialist state with flourishing sciences and culture. He said that if aggressive imperialist forces today are trying to continue old crusade strategies against socialism by using provocations and an unrestrained defamatory campaign, this only shows the great importance that the further strengthening of socialism on German soil has for political stability in Europe and for the preservation of peace.

The second main lecture was given by Professor Boris Belousov of the Academy of Social Sciences of the CPSU Central Committee. He stressed that the doctrine of Marx and Engels has become an objective reality on German soil. An essential basis in this respect is the fraternal alliance between the GDR and the USSR, and between the SED and the CPSU. The speaker stressed that a far- reaching revolutionary change is currently taking place in Soviet society, which is aimed at forming the humanist essence of socialism and its advantages and driving forces in an even more comprehensive way.

In other contributions, the shaping of socialism in our two countries was analyzed. It was stressed that good conditions exist on the basis of the joint program of cooperation between the SED and the CPSU in the area of social sciences to solve the theoretical and ideological tasks of the nineties.

LDPD Chairman on Exodus, Soviet Reforms

AU2209081289 East Berlin DER MORGEN in German 20 Sep 89 p 1

[Speech by Manfred Gerlach, deputy State Council chairman and chairman of the LDPD, at a festive event of the Political Committee of the LDPD Central Executive Committee on Berlin on 19 September: "The GDR Is the Result of Profound Social Changes"]

[Excerpts] [Passage omitted] Under the leadership of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED], we implemented what today is called socialism in the colors of the GDR at a time that was characterized—as regards international socialism in theory and practice—by deformation and by many kinds of arbitrariness, which declared a multiparty system and private economy sectors to be basically incompatible with socialist conditions.

Decisions at the Right Time

Without continuing to publicly discuss the "German path," the party of the workers class took into account national requirements, historical experiences, and democratic traditions to an extent that essentially contributed to that kind of stability which made the GDR a cornerstone of socialism in Europe. And looking back onto history shows that in the past the SED repeatedly knew how to make decisions in time, which showed a way out of critical or escalated situation, in summer 1953 with the New Course, in spring 1972 with the course of the main task in its unity of economic and social policy.

If this is an important experience for us Liberal Democrats, another one is that the alliance of the parties, the nature of which involves the democratic exercise of power in socialism, has proved to be a stabilizing and mobilizing factor, in particular at the crossroads of social development. By making its members and the citizens that are close to it aware of the necessity and usefulness of setting political switches, by articulating their specific interests, and by introducing them into the joint policy, the Liberal Democratic Party of Germany [LDPD] has tapped enormous forces for socialism and strengthened the worker-peasant power.

Of course, the efficiency of our work in all of society primarily depends on our ability to develop our own potential and, in a very essential way—as experience shows—also on the inclusion of the party in forming the political will, in the weighing of alternatives, and in the preparation of decisions. Finally, it was and is determined by the extent and possibilities of having an insight into the large social context. [passage omitted]

The work of the friends of our party is based on community spirit and internal affinity with their state.

Alliance contributions, dedication to local policy, and many other activities, which today are accounted for by the bezirk chairmen power thus. Their attitude reflects political intelligence and sensitivity for the things that concern the world of socialism, for the things that might be useful to the GDR, and for the things that would turn us back to the past if they were given enough leeway. Liberal Democrats have a keen eye for social reality in its contradictions, in its unity of progress and difficulties, of topical and long-term business tasks. They trust and they

demand trust because they are aware of their responsibility and the responsibility of the GDR.

However, the whole truth includes the fact that there are also LDPD members who leave the country. They give up, and we have to ask ourselves why they give up, since most of them are children of the revolution, have been educated here, and have received political training here. The echo in the basic organizations of the party to the statements made by the Central Executive Committee at its sixth session in June concerning the useful continuity and quick changes is continuing, and makes me stress again: The speed and range of the development of socialist democracy in our country cannot be determined by the opponents of socialism.

Information is the right of the citizens and the duty of the state. Being of a different opinion is not opposition, and a personal standpoint on political decisions is certainly not the result of bourgeois ideology but the goal of education and training in socialism. Political, ideological, and economic conflicts are escalating, and this is precisely why the GDR needs every citizen and the LDPD cannot give up one single member.

What Is Going On in the GDR Is Our Own Business

There is no doubt that anticommunism has become more subtle, but gross methods are also still being used. It is aimed in particular at the younger generation; it wants to alienate them politically. The opponents of socialism use the problems of socialism for their purposes—this should not surprise anyone of us. It is equally clear that what is going on in the GDR is our own business. Those people who speak in the same way as politicians, ministers, and deputies in the FRG and who act the way Bonn's official authorities sometimes act presume to have an unacceptable right to represent all Germans and cast shadows on bilateral relations, giving rise to serious doubts about the simultaneous statements that one adheres to the principles and rules of what has been agreed in treaties between the GDR and the FRG—which should be a matter of course in relations between sovereign states.

When it is noted that the war and the postwar period in Europe established new historical facts, many people rightly think first of the delineation of borders, agreed on and set down in writing by the main powers of the anti-Hitler coalition or agreed on in treaties between individual states. Those who call into question the borders of the postwar period—either from the political or legal point of view or in any other way—endanger peace.

Experiences can testify. Keeping them awake and passing them on to the coming generations is a task which will never lose its importance. Looking back to 1939 in these autumn days, we realize again that fascism was able to unleash World War II because it made European borders the plaything of its claims.

If Europe is to achieve a really peaceful future, new social structures must not be neglected either. Their development in the course of revolutionary changes has given rise to a Europe which is considerably different from prewar Europe. Those who take common security seriously, who talk about a continental peace system or about the European home, must proceed from the European facts in their entirety. And those include the GDR.

Its existence and its flourishing are of fundamental importance to the political balance of power in Europe and thus to peace and security, which are based on this balance of power. Thus, the attitude to the GDR obviously is the yardstick for the will for detente and the capability for peace.

War and the postwar period—we have to mention a third consideration. The LDPD was established and is working as an antifascist party. Its decision in October 40 years ago was the result of the conviction that in our country the forces of war and barbarism, the nationalist German fanatics, and the fascist tempters had been deprived of their social and political medium, and that this would remain so forever.

Thus, we Liberal Democrats are very concerned about the fact that ultrarightism and neofascist parties can spread almost without hindrance in the FRG, because—in a fatal parallel to the Harzburg Front, which made Hitler socially acceptable 60 years ago—politicians of the Bonn coalition consider it practically normal to hold preliminary talks with the Republicans about their "integration" into parliamentary democracy.

The Liberal Democrats would act pharmacally if they were not also sensitive to signals that show that in our country citizens, above all young people, express extreme opinions. It starts with considering that being protected represents a burden and shackles, and with trying to break out in an uncontrolled, undemocratic, and criminal way, meeting in groups or circles or clubs, adopting fascist symbols, and soon one thinks and acts in the way that corresponds to these symbols. This is punished and must be punished in accordance with the Constitution and the law. Furthermore, however, it must be a reason to investigate the motives for this and to take political precautions, also and particularly in the interest of those citizens who are on the point of marginalizing themselves in this way.

The young people of the GDR have profound knowledge about German fascism. Their basic humanist views will characterize attitudes in everyday life all the more the more purposefully education is supplemented by developing people's feelings. Konrad Wolf, the unforgotten filmmaker and president of the Academy of the Arts, warned against heartlessness and the loss of the feeling for ethics, loyalty, altruism, and love. "The entire man must be made resilient; pure information, pure knowledge are not sufficient." Let us dedicate ourselves to a culture of feelings and human relations, which is adequate to socialism and belongs to the nature of a policy that is close to the citizens.

The GDR needs people who ask questions, who are impatient, who are curious, it needs everyone who comes into conflict with "normality" and thus helps to discover and implement new things. Let us support our teachers and the Free German Youth in challenging and promoting the young people in this spirit.

Interested in the Life of Our Friends

In particular because the GDR has developed and lives indeed with the other socialist states, and because we Liberal Democrats cannot conceive of this state and its future in any other way than in the colors of socialism, we are as concerned and moved by the developments in the other countries as by the shaping of our own living conditions.

In Mikhail Gorbachev's programmatic speech on the occasion of the 70th anniversary of the victory of the Russian workers and peasants in 1917, the policy of the renewal of socialism in the USSR was characterized as a completely revolutionary policy, as a resumption and continuation of the ideals of the October Revolution.

The policy of restructuring wants to create favorable conditions for the building of socialism; it wants to break up incrustations, overcome the deformation of society and, not least, give new stimuli to international politics. After 4 years it has become clear that the policy of renewal is still at its beginning but, in the meantime, it has yielded results that confirm its historical correctness. Obviously, it involves the exercise of worker-peasant power in the interest of the workers and peasants, and thus involves the meaning of socialism.

In some other socialist states, too, profound transformations and processes of change are under way. Concerning Hungary and Poland, some decisions and events make us Liberal Democrats ask where the development will lead.

According to our experiences, the leading power of the Communist Party depends on its cohesiveness, on its ability to give the people convincing guidelines, and to formulate goals in which all citizens see the reflections of their interests. In addition, we believe that a multiparty system can work in socialism only if all parties advocate socialism, and we are convinced that a social policy that wants to be socialist can hardly be successful with capitalist means.

Our friendly alliance with the peoples of the socialist states, which has developed over the past 40 years—by the way, this is a fact that counts among the new realities—includes a thoughtful critical attitude; otherwise this friendship would not be worth much. And when Liberal Democrats observe the policy of renewal in the Soviet Union with passionate interest and, together with its advocates, fear for its success, then this is not because they want to copy it, but because the truth, the whole truth about the main country of socialism is of practically vital importance for their basic political attitude, and because the spirit that emanates from there fascinates and inspires them. [passage omitted]

Embassy Refugees 'Allowed to Emigrate' to FRG

LD2809111289 Hamburg DPA in German 1043 GMT 28 Sep 89

[Text] Hamburg (DPA)—The first 20 of the GDR citizens who left Bonn's Permanent Mission in East Berlin and the Federal German Embassy in Prague during the past few weeks will be allowed to emigrate to the Federal Republic at the beginning of October according to the newspaper BILD. BILD quotes informed sources in Bonn as saying that the promised legal counseling by East Berlin lawyer Wolfgang Vogel has thus born "its first fruit." The refugee problem at the Federal Republic's Embassies in Prague and Warsaw is to be "solved positively in the middle of the week."

NDPD Denounces FRG 'Malicious Campaign'

AU2709103889 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 20 Sep 89 p 2

[ADN report: "Central Meetings of NDPD Basic Organizations"]

[Text] East Berlin (ADN)—On the 40th anniversary of the founding of the GDR, central members' meetings of the party's basic organizations are taking place in all krees and city district associations of the National Democratic Party of Germany. At the first meetings at the beginning of the week, lectures and discussions were characterized by the members' pledge to use their initiatives and performances in order to strengthen the GDR and the power of the workers class and its allies, and to defend it against all attacks, states a press release published on Tuesday [19 September].

The participants in the meeting harshly criticized the malicious campaign by FRG forces against the GDR's historically successful path of development. They responded to this by expressing their will to give their best for the further development of the socialist fatherland, to help develop the knowledge about the basic values of socialism by means of the political dialogue in their work collectives and in residential areas, and thus promote the citizens' consensus actions for the state.

Views Exchanged With Austrian Army Delegation

LD2809120489 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1054 GMT 28 Sep 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—GDR Defense Minister Army General Heinz Kessler today emphasized to a delegation from the Austrian Federal Army the diverse relations between the GDR and Austria and between their armies, which are continually developing. The delegation was headed by General Dr Peter Corrieri, chief of Section IV of the Republic of Austria's Federal Ministry for National Defense.

During the exchange of views in the Defense Ministry, Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED] Politburo member Heinz Kessler recalled the statements made by

Federal Chancellor Dr Franz Vranitzky on the special edition of the journal of the Austria-GDR Society marking the 40th anniversary of the GDR, on which he had described the policy of constructive cooperation between the two countries as an exemplary factor of stability in central Europe.

Army General Heinz Kessler briefed his guests on the humanist duty of the soldiers of the National People's Army. On the basis of the peace policy of the socialist German state, directed toward détente and disarmament, there is nothing of greater importance to the members of the armed forces than preserving peace and reliably protecting the socialist achievements, he said.

General Dr Cortner conveyed greetings from Dr Robert Lichal, federal minister for national defense of the Republic of Austria, which Army General Kessler cordially reciprocated.

Also taking part in the meeting were General Joachim Goldbach, deputy minister of national defense and chief of technology and weaponry, and Austrian Ambassador to the GDR Dr Franz Wunderbaldinger.

During their stay of several days in the GDR, the Austrian delegation will be familiarizing itself with installations of the National People's Army, and will be visiting sights in Berlin, Dresden and Potsdam.

Greek President Receives CDU's Gerstig

AU2709110389 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 20 Sep 89 pp 1, 2

[ADN report: "Greek State President: Respect for the Industriousness of the GDR Working People"]

[Text] Athens (ADN)—On Tuesday [19 September] Greek State President Khristos Sartzetakis received Gerald Gerstig, deputy chairman of the GDR State Council, president of the League for Friendship Among Peoples, and chairman of the Christian Democratic Union of Germany, for a friendly talk in Athens. The GDR politician, who is on Greece on the occasion of the exhibition "40 Years of GDR," conveyed cordial greetings from Erich Honecker, general secretary of the Central Committee of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany and chairman of the GDR State Council, which were returned in kind by Khristos Sartzetakis.

The Greek president said that he remembers with pleasure the meeting with Erich Honecker in Greece and the talks in the GDR. It gives him satisfaction to be the first president of a NATO country to take the initiative for contacts with the GDR at the highest level. Greece, which feels pledged to international law, lets itself be guided by the principles of nonintervention in the internal affairs of other countries, of respecting their state sovereignty, and respects each people's right to choose its own path.

Khristos Sartzetakis stressed that Greece's policy is aimed at developing cooperation with states with different social systems in the spirit of peace in Europe. He expressed his respect for the industriousness and the will for construction of the GDR's working people, who have been successful on their 40-year path with their own strength.

The interlocutors noted concurrently that the relations between the GDR and Greece are a good example of how states in different alliances and with different social systems can cooperate for mutual benefit and in the interest of shaping a European peace system. Gerald Goetting affirmed the GDR's intention to consistently continue the tested cooperation with Greece.

Both sides expressed their hope that the negotiations on conventional disarmament, as well as those on the reduction of strategic nuclear weapons will lead to a mutually acceptable solution as soon as possible. Furthermore, they noted comprehensive concurrence on all questions of peace and security policy.

On the same day Gerald Goetting met with Archbishop Seraphim of Athens and all of Greece. As the head of his country's Greek Orthodox Church explained, in his every man is the focus of all considerations. This gives the Christians of his church the duty to cooperate with all forces of good will on the interest of the safeguarding of peace across borders and above ideological differences.

The archbishop paid tribute to the good relations which exist at the church level between his church and the Federation of Evangelical Churches in the GDR.

Late Monday evening [18 September], at a festive session of the city assembly of the Greek metropolis and with the agreement of the deputies of all parties, the president of the League for Friendship Among Peoples was given the highest award of Athens, the "Gold Honorary Medal of Athens." Mayor Nikos Yatrakos assessed this as a sign of affinity and friendship with the GDR.

CSSR Leaders Return Thanks for Greetings

AU2709103489 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 20 Sep 89 p 1

[NJ] report: "CSSR Pays Tribute to Fraternal Cooperation With the GDR"]

[Text] East Berlin—Milos Jakes, general secretary of the Central Committee of the Czechoslovak Communist Party [CPCZ], CSSR President Gustav Husak and Ladislav Adamec, chairman of the CSSR Government, have sent the following telegram of thanks to Erich Honecker, general secretary of the Central Committee of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED] and chairman of the GDR State Council, and Willi Stoph, chairman of the GDR Council of Ministers:

Dear Comrades,

On behalf of the CPCZ Central Committee, the government, and the people of the CSSR, we cordially thank you for the good wishes on the 45th anniversary of the Slovak national uprising.

The Slovak national uprising, which was a revolutionary uprising with a strong international character, became the beginning of our national and democratic revolution. Its goal was the building of a socially and nationally just society in the CSSR. We highly value and honor the memory of those German antifascists who fought in the ranks of the revolutionaries at the side of our patriots against Hitlerite fascism.

Permit us to take this opportunity to pay tribute to the results that have been achieved by the close fraternal cooperation between our parties, states, and peoples in the interest of consolidating socialism and peace.

We wish you, dear friends, the Communists, and the entire people of the GDR much success in building the socialist society and in solving the demanding tasks that were set by the 11th SED Congress.

Milos Jakes, general secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee

Gustav Husak, CSSR president

Ladislav Adamec, chairman of the CSSR Government

Hager Receives CPCZ Delegation for Talks

LD2110000 GDR Prague Domestic Service in Czech 2100 GMT 20 Sep 89

[Text] GDR—The CPCZ Central Committee delegation, headed by Jan Fojtik, Presidium member and secretary of the Party's Central Committee, which is taking part in Berlin in the meeting of ideological secretaries of the Central Committees of the Communist and Workers' Parties of the socialist countries, was received today by Kurt Hager, Politburo member and secretary of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany Central Committee. The theme of the talks were preparations of the two sides for their coming congresses next year, and other forms of deepening mutual cooperation.

Stoph Receives Bulgaria's Dyulgerov

AU2709111089 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 20 Sep 89 p 1

[ADN report: "Bulgarian Politician in Berlin for Exchange of Views"]

[Text] East Berlin (ADN)—On Tuesday [19 September] Willi Stoph, chairman of the GDR Council of Ministers, received Nikolay Dyulgerov, chairman of the Environmental Protection Committee of the Council of Ministers of the People's Republic of Bulgaria. During the exchange of views, which took place in a cordial and friendly atmosphere, the interlocutors paid tribute to the high level of the varied bilateral relations. They noted that these relations have been given decisive stimuli by the meetings at the highest level.

The Council of Ministers chairman explained to the Bulgarian guest the results that have been achieved in the GDR in implementing the decisions of the 11th Congress of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED]. He reported on the working people's great initiatives in the socialist competition in honor of the 40th anniversary of the founding of the GDR and on the tasks that have to be solved in preparation of the 12th SED Congress.

In discussing basic issues of the GDR's environmental policy, Willi Stoph pointed to the close relationship between the protection of the environment and the economical use of natural resources on the one hand, and the safeguarding of peace through arms limitation and disarmament on the other. Both interlocutors spoke in favor of a perceptible deepening of bilateral cooperation in the sphere of environmental protection. They stressed the urgent necessity to achieve further results for keeping the air clean, for protecting waters, and for minimizing and using waste products.

The Bulgarian guest reported on the state of the preparations for the CSCE environmental protection meeting, which will take place in Sofia from 16 October to 3 November 1989. Both sides emphasized the great importance of this meeting for the further strengthening of the process of détente and cooperation between states in Europe with different social systems and affirmed the intention of their countries to contribute to the success of the meeting.

The meeting was attended by Hans Reichelt, deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers and GDR minister of environmental protection and water conservancy. Also present was Petar Mezhdurechki, ambassador of the People's Republic of Bulgaria to the GDR.

GDR Participates in Zagreb Fair

AU2709111089 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 19 Sep 89 p 7

[ADN report: "GDR Demonstrates High Standards at Zagreb Fair"]

[Excerpts] Belgrade (ADN)—The 1989 Autumn Fair in Zagreb was opened by Janez Drnovsek, president of the SFRY Presidency, on Monday [18 September]. [passage omitted]

A total of 14 foreign trade organizations and industrial combines present their exhibits on the collective stand of the GDR—which is a traditional participant in this fair—on an area of about 1,500 square meters. They demonstrate the high scientific-technological standards of the GDR's export industry, which have been achieved over 40 years of successful development.

During a visit to the GDR's collective stand on the course of his walking tour the president of the SFRY Presidency was impressed by the comprehensive range of exhibits which demonstrates the capacity of the GDR economy, as he said. In a talk with Siegfried Bock, GDR ambassador to the SFRY, he paid tribute to the high level of bilateral economic relations between the two countries, for the further development of which all preconditions exist. [passage omitted]

Kessler Receives Cuban Army Delegation

AU2209010389 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 20 Sep 89 p 2

[ADN report: "Military Officers of the Republic of Cuba in the Defense Ministry"]

[Text] East Berlin (ADN)—On Tuesday [19 September] a delegation of the Revolutionary Armed Forces of the Republic of Cuba were received by Army General Heinz Kessler, member of the Politburo of the Central Committee of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany and minister of national defense. The delegation was headed by Rear Admiral Pedro Miguel Perez Betancourt, deputy minister of Cuba's Revolutionary Armed Forces and chief of the Revolutionary Navy. During the meeting in the Defense Ministry the interlocutors paid tribute to the fraternal relations between the parties, peoples and armies of the two countries.

Army General Heinz Kessler briefed the guests about initiatives and performances of the army members in honor of the forthcoming 40th anniversary of the republic. Their deeds for strengthening socialism and safeguarding peace reflect their pledge to the GDR, their fatherland, he stressed.

Rear Admiral Perez conveyed cordial greetings from Army General Raul Castro Ruz, minister of the Revolutionary Armed Forces of the Republic of Cuba, which were returned in kind by Army General Heinz Kessler.

The meeting was attended by Vice Admiral Theodor Hoffmann, deputy minister of national defense and chief of the People's Navy.

Moldt, Afghanistan's Tawana Discuss Relations

LD1509224189 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1655 GMT 19 Sep 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—The GDR supports all steps that serve to end the bloodshed in Afghanistan and to guarantee its people a peaceful future free from external interference. GDR Deputy Foreign Minister Ewald Moldt told the chairman of the Leadership Council of the Justice Party of Afghan Peasants, Abdul Hakim Tawana, this on Tuesday [19 Sep] in Berlin.

Moldt pointed out that the GDR's foreign policy focuses on the consolidation of international security, disarmament, and cooperation and on its initiatives to safeguard peace. Abdul Hakim Tawana explained Afghanistan's course of national reconciliation that pursued the aim of bringing about a settlement that would be acceptable to all sides by means of dialogue within Afghanistan.

Beforehand, Abdul Hakim Tawana had met the chairman of the Democratic Peasants' Party of Germany [DBD], Dr Guenther Maleuda, in Berlin. Both party chiefs noted the instigation of party relations with satisfaction and described them as a contribution to the development of friendship and bilateral cooperation.

Dr Maleuda underlined that development in the GDR is characterized by stability, dynamism, and revolutionary renewal. The GDR people are celebrating the 40th anniversary of the founding of the first socialist German state of the workers and peasants in the certainty that the policy is being continued for the people's welfare. It was the DBD's main aim to act in its word and deed in support of strengthening socialism and heightening its attractiveness.

Kim Il-song Sends Thanks on World Festival

AU2209010389 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 20 Sep 89 p 2

[ADN report: "Greetings From Kim Il-song to Erich Honecker"]

[Text] East Berlin (ADN)—On Tuesday [19 September] Pak Yong-chan, DPRK ambassador to the GDR, conveyed best greetings from Kim Il-song, general secretary of the Central Committee of the Workers Party of Korea and DPRK president, to Erich Honecker, general secretary of the Central Committee of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany and chairman of the GDR State Council. On this occasion, the ambassador stressed the GDR's contribution to preparing and holding the 13th World Festival. He again conveyed thanks from his party and state leadership and presented a documentary film on the Pyongyang World Festival as a present from Kim Il-song to Erich Honecker.

Hager Receives DPRK's Chae Tae-pok

LD2309191089 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1021 GMT 20 Sep 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—Kurt Hager, member of the Politburo and secretary of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED] Central Committee, met Chae Tae-pok, secretary of the Korean Workers Party Central Committee, today. Kurt Hager informed his Korean guest of the initiatives in all areas of society marking GDR's forthcoming 40th anniversary and of the preparations for the 12th SED party congress in May 1990. He stressed that great efforts must continue to be made to guarantee peace. The GDR consistently works to ensure that war will never again emanate from German soil.

There must be clear opposition to the efforts of reactionary, revanchist forces in the FRG to weaken the socialist GDR and to set aside the European postwar

order through a large-scale malicious campaign in the style of the cold war. On behalf of the SED Central Committee and of its general secretary, Erich Honecker, Kurt Hager expressed gratitude for the solidarity of Comrade Kim Il-sung and the Korean Workers Party with the GDR. He gave the assurance that the SED will continue unwaveringly to pursue the course of further strengthening socialism with the unity of economic and social policy and the perfection of the socialist democracy in the interests of the GDR people.

Choe Tae-pok referred to the Korean Workers Party's desire to make a still greater independent contribution to guaranteeing peace. This is the basic requirement for the successful development of socialism in the DPRK. The key issue here is, and will remain, the development of forces of production, the acceleration of scientific-technical progress and the increase of economic performance. This also requires a valid political-ideological work in the party at high level. His party remains committed, on this basis, to further intensifying the exchange of experiences and views with other fraternal parties.

Mueckenberger Receives Israeli CP Official

LD2009130089 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 19 Sep 89 p 2

[ADN report: "Cooperation Between the SED and Communist Party of Israel To Be Intensified"]

[Text] East Berlin (ADN)—On Monday [18 September] Erich Mueckenberger, member of the Politburo of the Central Committee of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED] and chairman of the Central Party Control Commission, received in the House of the Central Committee Wolf Ehrlich, member of the Politburo and chairman of the Central Party Control Commission of the Communist Party of Israel, for a friendly talk.

During the talk Erich Mueckenberger explained the SED's policy, which is aimed at peace, disarmament, and the further shaping of socialism in the GDR. Particularly in commemoration of the millions of victims of the fascist policy of violence, the GDR considers it as its most important contribution to fulfilling the legacy of all antifascist resistance fighters that the roots of fascism and racism, and thus also of anti-Semitism, have been eradicated forever on the first worker-peasant state on German soil.

Wolf Ehrlich reported on the uncritical struggle of the Communist Party of Israel, which celebrates the 70th anniversary of its founding this year, to bring about a lasting peace in the Near and Middle East. Practical steps for the further unification of the democratic and peaceful forces inside and outside the Knesset are necessary for the joint struggle for peace and the defense of the democratic freedoms in Israel.

The interlocutors paid tribute to the close international relations between the SED and the Communist Party of Israel and spoke out in favor of intensifying the trusted comradely cooperation for the benefit of both peoples.

Exchange Rate of GDR Mark Declines

AU2009134189 Frankfurt/Main FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE in German 19 Sep 89 p 13

[Report by Klaus Kemper: "The East Mark Under Pressure"]

[Excerpt] Berlin, 18 September—Not all of those who arrive in West Berlin from East Berlin or elsewhere in the GDR can conceal their disappointment. Those who try to exchange their small savings—in many cases not more than 100 or 200 GDR marks—into FRG marks in one of the exchange offices, are getting less and less money for them.

The decline of the GDR currency in the West reached a climax in the past few weeks. Exchange offices in Berlin and banks in the West paid DM8.5 for 100 GDR marks. Now the low buying rate has stabilized at DM9.25 and finally at DM9.5, thanks to sudden demand. However nobody can predict whether this recovery of the exchange rate will last for long. [passage omitted]

Editorial Questions Behavior of CDU Members

AU2009105289 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 19 Sep 89 p 2

[Unattributed editorial: "Confidence in Togetherness"]

[Text] The Christian Democratic Union [CDU] has always pursued the following course: We preserve what has proven itself. We search for new ways where new tasks are to be mastered. This is the principle we apply to our work. We have achieved success in this way, and we will not change this policy in the future.

The main elements of our political attitude and activities have proven themselves. We support socialism, we are partners in the alliance between the parties and all social forces, among which the party of the workers class is the strongest and the leading force. Partnership is based on trust, and it becomes productive through the partners' creative work. This approach has proven itself during 4 decades. It will also help us master the tasks that we are now facing.

The CDU discussed its aims and work at its 10th Party Congress 2 years ago and adopted corresponding resolutions. The slogan "party work in service for peace and our fellow men" was created.

Topical tasks and preconditions, as well as openness to newly arising questions and their solutions will determine the way this service is to be implemented and the way the Christian Democrats and their party will shape and further develop the socialist society. The socialist society in our country understands itself as a living organism that is to be continually shaped in a permanent democratic process. This cannot be done by abandoning

basic principles and everything that has proven itself. We expand and continue what we have created with the work of our own hands and face up to new challenges. In this way stability is ensured and qualitatively new developments become possible.

This is exactly the way in which the Christian Democrats act when trying to find new answers to new questions at the threshold of the nineties. Discussions are being held in our party's executive bodies, in the local groups, in the Main Executive Committee's [ZV] working groups, and the consultative groups of the Krets leaderships. There is hardly a meeting of members where such issues—both in connection with local topics and topics concerning the whole society—are not discussed. There is a great deal of democratic discussion and a great deal of openness to problems and different possibilities of decision. Bearing in mind the existing possibilities and aware of its responsibility for the entire society, the CDU has submitted numerous proposals—at the Ninth Pedagogical Congress or on the occasion of the upcoming national health conference, for example.

The Christian Democrats, like all other social forces, are highly interested in making even more efficient use of the values and opportunities offered by our social democracy and the alliance of all social forces, thus facing up to the new challenges. We outline our standpoint and make suggestions in this respect concerning the preparation of the next 5-year plan, and in the most varied social spheres—including the state and legal order, the system of economic planning and management, agricultural and family policy, the cultivation of the cultural heritage, and the preservation of the environment. Thus we are continuing the good and productive tradition of our party work. Thus we actively assume our share of responsibility for the whole society and further shape the CDU's profile within the GDR's alliance of parties.

This is the basis for our party's executives and members, whose ideas and suggestions are of particular importance for the party's proposals, and the efficiency of our initiatives depends to an essential degree on their productive work in their jobs and for society. Party members express their views at members' meetings and other party events, they voice criticism and submit proposals. They address questions and suggestions to their party executives. These ideas and suggestions are taken seriously, discussed, and translated into practical policy. This is stipulated in the CDU statutes, and this is our guideline for actions.

The fact that party members addressed the international public—as happened in Eisenach at the weekend [16-17 September]—is a violation of such intraparty democracy, of the spirit of the trusting relationship among CDU members, particularly in view of the fact that these four members were invited by the responsible CDU leadership organ for a clarifying talk on their proposals, which they gladly accepted. The sincerity of those who call for discussions, but who burden the talks through such behavior, must be doubted.

Our state and its social forces are once more being attacked on ideological grounds by those circles who are openly trying to destabilize and eventually eliminate socialism. In this they stop at nothing. For this reason, we are very careful not to provide grist to the mill of the war of nerves against our republic and its citizens.

We Christian Democrats want to, and will, concentrate our efforts on increased work for socialism in alliance with the other parties to further democratically shape our society, because we are interested in peace and want to serve our fellow men.

Opposition Groups Hold 'Surprise' Meeting

LD2409155289 Hamburg DPA in German 1512 GMT 24 Sep 89

[Excerpt] Berlin (DPA)—Opposition groups from all parts of the GDR, at a surprise meeting in Leipzig on Sunday [24] decided that the "New Forum" group will be the umbrella organization for all independent currents. It was learned that the meeting, which originally was to have taken place next weekend, was spontaneously held this weekend in order to forestall any attempts by the GDR security authorities to ban it. For the approximately 80 participants there were no problems. The opposition groups are striving for a different kind of socialism than the one represented by the Socialist Unity Party of Germany, but they do not seek a return to capitalist conditions.

New Opposition Group Favors Socialism, Reforms

LD2309111889 Hamburg DPA in German 1046 GMT 23 Sep 89

[Text] Berlin (DPA)—The opposition group "United Left" [Vereinigte Linke], which emerged at the beginning of September with a paper on its positions, wants to revitalize socialism in the GDR "with visionary ideas." This is to prevent a development toward a "bourgeois capitalist system" as in Poland and Hungary. A representative of the group put its number of potentially active members at between 300 to 500 people according to today's edition of the [West] Berlin-based DIE TAGESZEITUNG (TAZ). According to TAZ, various opposition groups intend to sound out to what extent there are starting points for unifying their ideas at a meeting in East Berlin on 2 October.

The United Left is appealing for immediate reforms. It aims to build an "alternative trade union association" and form "a kind of trade union youth movement." Most members are of the far left and are in favor of a unified trade union. The initiative's supporters are working to a large extent conspiratorially in enterprises and universities. In large-scale enterprises they are trying to bring about "certain discussions." Conspiratorial work is necessary so as not to be "put out of harm's way."

The Socialist Unity Party of Germany will be considered as a partner on an alliance, as significant changes are not possible without it. A multiparty system is "a better necessity, but on the basis of a constitution characterized by liberal and democratic socialism." The peace movement in the GDR is "simply too reactionary" for many people. It is partially selling out to the West.

Musicians Sound Call for National Dialogue

AU2609154089 Hamburg BILD in German 25 Sep 89 p 4

[Text of open letter addressed to the GDR leadership by approximately 50 GDR rock and pop stars "We Are Concerned About the Situation of Our Country", date and place of publication not given]

[Text] "We, the signers of this letter, are concerned about the current situation of our country, about the mass exodus of so many citizens of our own age, about the crisis concerning the meaning of this social alternative, and about the intolerable ignorance of the state and party leadership that plays down the existing contradictions and sticks to a rigid course. What we want are not reforms aimed at eliminating socialism but reforms that make socialism possible in this country in the future. The current attitude toward the existing contradictions endangers socialism.

"We explicitly welcome the fact that citizens organize themselves in democratic groups in order to find their own solutions to the existing problems. This country needs a million-fold activation of individuality; the old structures do not seem suitable to make this possible. Thus, we welcome the call by the 'New Forum' in which we find a great deal of what we are thinking and what is worth discussing and exchanging. We think it is about time to remove and overcome old hostilities. It is important now that the political will of large parts of the population leads to a positive reactions 'on the top.' This also includes the recognition of these groups, their toleration, and their participation in discussions and in the shaping of this society, as stipulated in the GDR's Constitution. This country must finally learn how to come to terms with minorities who think differently, particularly because they may not even be minorities.

"The increase in rightist-extremist and conservative-national elements in our country and the emergence of all-German views are the result of a lack of reactions to contradictions that have evolved and facts that the leaderships have not come to terms with. Leftist forces are again the victims of this conservative policy. We want to live in this country, and it makes us sick to have to watch—without being able to act—while attempts to achieve democratization and to analyze society are constrained or ignored. Now and at this point we call for public dialogue with all forces. We call for the discussion of these problems by the media. We call for a change of the unacceptable conditions. We want to face up to the existing contradictions, because a way out of the crisis is only possible by solving problems and not by playing them down.

"Cowardly inactivity provides arguments and creates the preconditions for those who advocate all-German views. The time is ripe. If we do not act, time will work against us."

Writers Ask 'Democratic Dialogue' at All Levels

AU2609205089 Frankfurt/Main FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE in German 25 Sep 89 p 3

["We" report: "Resolution of East Berlin Writers: Ignorance is Intolerable"]

[Text] The East Berlin Bezirk organization of the GDR Writers' Association adopted a resolution at its meeting on 14 September with four nays and seven abstentions, calling for a "democratic dialogue at all levels" on the basic problems of the GDR. According to reports from East Berlin, the president of the GDR Writers' Association, Hermann Kant, did not support the resolution. The resolution that was moved by Christa Wolf and other writers reads as follows:

"In view of the current massive exodus of GDR citizens, we do not accept official statements to the effect that 'there is no need, not even the slightest need to correct our course.' It is intolerable that responsibility for the situation is being rejected, despite the fact that it has been caused by contradictions within the country that have not been tackled. This also includes dealing with the Western mass media.

The exodus is only a sign of the basic problems that have accumulated in all spheres of society. There is no lack in analyses and ideas, but there is a lack of chances to discuss them in public and to make them effective. Concerned about the further development of socialism, we call for the immediate start of democratic dialogue at all levels.

'Appropriate Amount' Harvested Despite Drought

AU2209115089 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 19 Sep 89 p 2

[ADN/ND report: "So Far Peasants Have Harvested About Half of the Potatoes"]

[Excerpt] East Berlin—So far potatoes have been harvested on half of all fields in the republic. At the same time, the peasants are currently harvesting vegetables, fruits, and fodder crops, are sowing winter grain on almost 2 million hectares, and will begin to harvest sugar beets this week. On Monday [18 September] in Berlin the People's Chamber Committee for Agriculture, Forestry, and Foodstuffs Industry, headed by its chairman, Michael Kuplanski, discussed the fulfillment of the national economic plan in this sector.

Taking into consideration the extraordinary drought this year, an appropriate amount of 10,922 million tonnes of grain has been harvested, Deputy Agriculture Minister Walter Maronn noted. The cultivation of summer catch crops on 1.1 million hectares amounts to the highest cultivation of this fodder crop to date. Walter Maronn announced that the cooperatives and state-owned farms have exceeded the corresponding part of the plan for slaughter animals by 32,000 tonnes, for milk by 223,000 tonnes, and for eggs by 138 million units. [passage omitted]

Resistance Fighters Send Message to Honecker

LD2809112989 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 28 Sep 89 p 2

[ND report: "We Do What We Can for the Best Cause of the World, for Socialism"]

[Text] East Berlin—A message has been sent to Erich Honecker by 291 antifascist resistance fighters from the Berlin city district of Prenzlauer Berg. "Dear Comrade Erich Honecker," they write, "we, the fighters against fascism and those persecuted by fascism, who live in the Prenzlauer Berg city district of Berlin convey to you our most cordial militant greetings from our 20th session of the Krets Committee of Antifascist Resistance Fighters on the occasion of the 40th anniversary of the founding of the GDR."

Our intentions for the year of the anniversary, it is noted in the letter, are characterized by the slogan "With our hearts and minds, in permanent friendship with the Soviet country—forward to the 40th anniversary of the GDR, our socialist fatherland" with the goal of doing everything in our power so that the building of a new world of peace and freedom genuinely becomes reality, in accordance with our oath.

The antifascist resistance fighters report that, in evaluating the seventh session of the Central Committee of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED], they drew up a balance sheet of the work in the year of the 40th anniversary of the first German worker-peasant state on German soil. They note with satisfaction: "Guided by the far-sighted and successful policy of the SED and our state under your leadership, in close affinity with all working people and, in particular, with the youth of our city district, we have made an essential contribution to preserving and cultivating the revolutionary and militant traditions of the antifascist resistance struggle."

We, the letter continues, who belong to the generation who lived and worked at the side of Ernst Thaelmann, count ourselves among the Thaelmann Guard, whose legacy we have implemented over the 40 years since the founding of our fatherland.

"Those who, like us, honor the antifascist legacy, have fully turned with their hearts and minds to the task of ensuring that war will never again start from German soil. In this we let ourselves be guided by the noble ideals of the antifascist resistance struggle and, as long as we are able to do so, we will do what we can for the best cause in the world, for the overall strengthening of socialism and the safeguarding of peace." The antifascist resistance fighters from the workers city district, which is rich in traditions, write that they feel bound to thank the party of the workers class from the bottom of their hearts for implementing the Marxist-Leninist principles in consolidating the worker-peasant power, for the steady realization of proletarian internationalism, for deepening the friendship with the Soviet Union, and for the policy for the welfare of man. They assure the party leadership and Erich Honecker personally of their firm affinity.

In conclusion, the letter says: "On the eve of the 12th SED Congress, we consider it our duty to help the young people with passion and dedication to gain strength from the example of the indomitable communists and antifascists, their models, in order to master the tasks they are facing today for a future in peace and socialism."

Szuros: Refugee Move 'Sovereign Hungarian Step'

LD2309180389 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1630 GMT 23 Sep 89

[Excerpts] The Soviet news agency TASS issued a statement in the afternoon. [passage omitted] We have telephoned the National Assembly speaker, and asked him whether it accords with reality that Hungary did not coordinate with the Soviet Union its measures related to the GDR.

[Begin Szuros recording] In my view, the Soviet statement is correct. There really was no coordination. The issue at hand is that the Americans put the question to me several times, whether—as they put it—the settlement of the East German refugees' affair from the Hungarian side happened with Soviet approval. Thus, this old motif came back. To this I replied on every occasion that the Hungarian Government decision to allow the GDR refugees to leave, via Austria, to the FRG was a sovereign Hungarian step in a situation of constraint. I myself do not preclude the possibility that Hungarian experts or competent officials, in such a case, obtained information from various partners, regarding how they felt. It is a fact, however, that the Soviet side was not informed officially, that is, there was no coordination. [end recording]

This, naturally, does not mean that Matyas Szuros might agree with the part of the TASS statement that pertains to the role of the FRG.

U.S. Comments Reaffirmed

LD2409230389 Budapest MTI in English 1949 GMT 24 Sep 89

[Text] Budapest, September 24 (MTI)—The Sunday night political programme on Hungarian television carried an interview with Matyas Szuros, speaker of Parliament. Mr Szuros was answering questions on connections with his statements made during his visit to the USA, also carried by the world press.

He reaffirmed his US statement, namely that the decision of the Hungarian Government to permit the departure of GDR citizens wishing to go to the FRG was an independent decision brought in an emergency, and without previous approval from the Soviet Union.

The other controversial issue concerns Hungary's neutrality. Szuros reiterated his statements made in the course of his US visit. The issue of neutrality is not included on the political agenda of Hungarian politics. "Yet, perhaps unlike others, I think that if Hungary's neutral status is to be established in 10-15 years' time through international guarantees, preparation should be launched already now in order to gradually create the necessary conditions," Mr Szuros said. He added that the US press had quoted him correctly, and the Soviet response was correct, too.

The TV interview also touched upon Gorbachev's position. Mr Szuros said that—as he had also pointed out in the USA—he felt Mr Gorbachev's position stronger than some people, including Kissinger. Szuros said that he felt much more optimistic than Boris Yeltsin appeared to be in his statements made during his recent visit to the United States.

Czech Guards Chase GDR Citizens Into Hungary

LD2309141789 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1600 GMT 23 Sep 89

[Text] Czechoslovak border guards have again violated the Hungarian border. My colleague Istvan Szelloc asked Lieutenant-Colonel Karoly Karacs, border guard, what really happened in Rajka.

[Szelloc] On 16 September 13 GDR citizens arrived at the Rajka border crossing. They drove through the open Czechoslovak border barricade and they raced toward Hungary. At this point the Czech border guards set off in their tracks, and maltreated one of them on Hungarian territory. Then they returned to the border crossing, leaving the GDR people to flee. As the lieutenant-colonel said, after a protest letter from the Hungarian border guard, the Czechoslovak side pointed out that a large-scale movement of GDR citizens has got under way on their country, too, and unfortunately some border guards interpret the regulations badly. Karoly Karacs went on to say that the aggrieved GDR people are still on Hungarian territory.

Decree Applies Rules of Geneva Refugee Pact

LD2309191789 Budapest MTI in English 1648 GMT 23 Sep 89

[Text] Budapest, September 23 (MTI)—As reported, the Presidential Council of the Hungarian People's Republic passed a legal decree at its Friday session in Budapest on the legal status of refugees.

The new provisions, to take effect on October 15th, is another step towards bringing the refugee issue in Hungary up to European norms.

The Presidential Council's decree and the government decree passed on August 31, also to come into effect on October 15th, covers the practical application of the rules included in the Geneva refugee convention. Hungary joined the Geneva convention this March since the abstract legal category had become a cutting issue for Hungary as well, especially as regards the situation of Romanian refugees. The rapid increase in the number of people seeking entry and settlement here pressed the Hungarian Government into setting the predicament in keeping with generally accepted international norms. Accordingly, since June 12, the spirit and message of the Geneva convention has become the guideline for Hungary on the refugee question.

The activity of the former authority is to be taken over by a new administrative body, the refugee office, which

is currently being set up. In the central stage, the refugee issue is decided on by the local bodies of the office, primarily the admission stations.

The legal decree passed by the Presidential Council provides virtually the same rights to people who are granted refugee status—provided they meet the strict criteria laid down in the Geneva convention—as those provided for Hungarian citizens, with certain restrictions. For instance: they are not entitled to vote or to take jobs that are limited to Hungarian citizens by any legal provision. Refugees are not liable to military service, and, should they wish to travel, they can apply for bilingual travelling documents—as set down under the Geneva convention—from the local police. Under the decree, refugees are entitled to attend Hungarian language classes free of charge.

On the subject of refugees acquiring citizenship with full rights, the Presidential Council ordered that "when judging an application for Hungarian citizenship together with naturalization (renaturalization), refugee status should be considered an extraordinary circumstance." In the case of Romanian refugees—at about 19,000 at present, these make up the bulk of those seeking asylum—the difficulties surrounding the acquisition of Hungarian citizenship are due to an agreement in effect until February 10, 1990, between Hungary and Romania on the exclusion of double citizenship. The Ministry of Home Affairs has already initiated talks with the Romanian side on this preventing the acquisition of Hungarian citizenship with full rights.

GDR Refugees Swim Across Danube Into Country

LD2509123089 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1700 GMT 25 Sep 89

[Text] During the night, a further 400 GDR refugees arrived in the FRG. Most of them travelled by bus, among them were the 30 GDR citizens who arrived in Hungarian territory by swimming across the Danube from Czechoslovakia. Colonel Tibor Vidus, commander of the Gyor border guard district, said that more than 950 East Germans had illegally crossed the Czechoslovak-Hungarian border since the Hungarian Government began allowing East Germans to leave for Austria. Of the 30, 265 had swum the Danube while three have drowned in the attempt. At Komarom, Rajka, and [illegible], several had broken through the border barrier in cars.

Last week, Czechoslovak border guards, in pursuit of a car that had broken through a border barrier, entered Hungarian territory and beat up an East German citizen. After Hungary's protest, a special meeting of border guard envoys was convened where the Czechoslovak border guard organs agreed the protest was justified and apologized for the incident.

Refugee Departures Updated

LD2509144789 Budapest MTI in English 1201 GMT 25 Sep 89

[Text] Budapest, September 25 (MTI)—On Monday morning, the Command Headquarters of Gyor Frontier Guards told MTI that the number of GDR citizens who have left Hungary for the FRG via the Hegyeshalom border station has now risen to over 15,000. A total of 1,951 GDR citizens left on Saturday and Sunday alone.

In Sopron, however, only 80 GDR citizens left Hungary over the weekend.

On Saturday and Sunday, 129 people crossed the Hungarian-Czechoslovak border illegally. 128 were GDR citizens, and one a Czechoslovak citizen. Eighty-seven swam across the Danube between Rajka and Esztergom.

Role of United Nations Grows in Foreign Policy

AU2209111289 Budapest MAGYAR NEMZET in Hungarian 16 Sep 89 p 6

[Interview with Foreign Ministry State Secretary Ferenc Somogyi, by James Trawneky: "Going Beyond the Bloc Concept—New Emphases in Hungarian Foreign Policy"—date and place not given]

[Text] [Trawneky] The 44th General Assembly session of the United Nation began on 19 September. On this occasion, it is customary to stress the importance of this event and also its importance for Hungary's foreign policy. This time, this forum, where we can present a picture of our situation, is even more important for us than ever before.

[Somogyi] The role of the United Nations and of multilateral diplomacy in general has indeed recently increased in Hungarian diplomacy. One reason for this is that in this framework we have the opportunity to express our position and efforts, and to see to it that international public opinion is precisely aware of our intentions and understands them, and that it supports our efforts to implement these goals. An even more important reason is that in their entire activity these international forums, which were originally established to foster international cooperation, represent a natural framework for Hungarian foreign policy aimed at broadening our contacts, increasing our activity, and going beyond the bloc concept. This is also strengthened by the fact that the generally valid principles and norms, and the universal human values formulated precisely in the United Nations and in other multilateral forums, are basically the guiding principles of our domestic renewal. Our participation in the activity of the United Nations is considerably broadening the framework of our international activity. It enables us to assert our interests and become active participants, and not only passive viewers, in shaping the international conditions that are

now extremely important for us. It is a favorable development that our influence in these forums is not determined by the size of our country, but by our progressive ideas and constructive role.

Favorable Trends

[Tauvatsky] Mr State Secretary! Do you think that we can really count on proper attention and the acceptance of our efforts in the United Nations? Hungary was already at the center of attention in this world organization 30 years ago.

[Somogyi] There is a fundamental difference between the end of the fifties and the beginning of the sixties on the one hand, and the current situation on the other hand. Concerning the years following the events of 1956, I would like to say only this much: I consider it justified to make a thorough analysis of the activity of the United Nations concerning the "Hungarian question," including the more or less accurate reflection of the domestic and world policy events connected with the uprising, along with a comprehensive re-evaluation of the period of time that has passed since World War II and the processing of our experiences. Concerning the current situation, just like on the world at large, generally favorable trends can also be seen in the United Nations. This means that a readiness for cooperation is increasingly replacing confrontation in the world organization, and an objective debate on problems and the seeking of mutually acceptable solutions to problems are becoming characteristic of the United Nations. Accordingly, the overwhelming majority of member states have an approach to problems that is similar to ours. The fact that, with one or two exceptions, the Hungarian delegation was able to join all the decisions adopted by the General Assembly also proves this. Therefore, I think that we can also realistically count on a favorable reception for our efforts from the United Nations. Of course, reality also means that we should not harbor illusions. There are still considerable differences of opinion on a wide range of issues, and in many issues that are important issues for us we must face the fact that, as a result of insufficient knowledge, some members states do not fully understand our intentions, and other states do not identify with our efforts because of similar problems that affect them, too. I am convinced that in such cases we should represent our national interests consistently, but also carefully and calmly.

[Tauvatsky] The UN General Assembly session and the official and unofficial bilateral and multilateral meetings on this occasion also provide a feedback on the way a country is evaluated. What can Hungary expect now? We are often in the news nowadays. Some countries and groups of countries view us as a positive example; other countries condemn us.

[Somogyi] As is well-known, the UN General Assembly reflects the processes under way in the world. Thus, we really have the opportunity to evaluate the world's reaction to the Hungarian events. It is already certain that there is great interest in Hungary, and the various initiatives for our participation in the foreign ministerial meetings in New York and in other programs also show this widespread interest. Of course, it would be irresponsible to start speculations about the actual content of the negotiations, however, I feel that we can justifiably hope that the overwhelming majority of the member states will react positively to the changes in our policy and practice because, although coming from an internal desire, our new policy and practice increasingly resemble the principles formulated in the UN Charter and in other UN documents.

Without Reservation

[Tauvatsky] What are the major changes in the Hungarian positions and in their expression with regard to the issues on the agenda of the UN General Assembly?

[Somogyi] A certain change in our position can be seen practically in all the areas. In the political sphere, I find it worth mentioning the new and positive evaluation of the role played by the International Court or the peacekeeping activity of the United Nations; our direct participation in UN activity in Iraq and Iran, and in Namibia also proves this. Instead of obsolete ideological and political considerations, we clearly start from our economic interests in dealing with the world economic and international financial problems on the agenda. On the issue of disarmament, there is a fundamental change in the fact that issues like conventional disarmament and the banning of chemical weapons have gained ground in the United Nations and in other forums, and we are directly interested in solving these problems as soon as possible, not only from a military point of view, but also from political and economic considerations. This explains the spectacular increase in the Hungarian diplomatic activity in this area. However, I still consider the change in our position on human rights and humanitarian issues to be the most striking one. By giving up our earlier reservations and recognizing the international aspects of this problem, we are increasingly participating in the activity of the relevant international forums. As to the expression of our position and representation of our interest, it is our intention to see to it that the activity of the Hungarian delegation continues to be characterized by a sense of realism and a constructive outlook.

[Tauvatsky] In other words, Hungary is now taking the United Nations more seriously because we need it more than before?

[Somogyi] No, this is not true. For various reasons Hungarian foreign policy has always considered the United Nation to be an important organization in the past 25 years. It is obvious that a foreign policy can be regarded as successful only if, in addition to ensuring favorable international conditions for domestic processes, it also contributes to solving problems facing the whole of mankind. In this respect, the Hungarian reform and renewal, and our subsequent international activity can now become an organic part of the process aimed at

eliminating confrontation, creating confidence, and promoting cooperation in Europe and all over the world. Thus, in recent years, our practice and foreign policy have already contained the positions which we had expressed in our earlier positions in the various UN forums.

[Tmovszky] What will the Hungarian delegation stress in the current General Assembly session, and what would our delegation like to achieve?

[Somogyi] I cannot pick any specific subject that would clearly qualify as the most important one. We plan to continue our earlier proposals and enrich them with new elements and emphases. We will attribute particular attention on international security and disarmament issues, and on human rights and humanitarian issues. In connection with the latter, we will urge primarily the efficient functioning of the UN verification mechanism and the codification of the individual and collective rights of national minorities within the foreseeable future.

[Tmovszky] Are you coordinating the Hungarian positions with the other socialist countries?

[Somogyi] Just like in our bilateral relations, the representation and assertion of Hungarian national interests are also decisive in our activity in the United Nations. At the same time, it is an accepted practice in the United Nations that individual countries hold a wide range of consultations and that various groups of countries represent a coordinated position and make joint declarations. In this sport, an exchange of information and opinions between socialist countries is natural, and the joint position of the socialist countries (the Eastern European Group, to use UN terminology) is a possible method. I consider this form to be justified in cases when circumstances warrant such a declaration and when the position of the countries in question makes it possible to work out a substantial joint position. We refrain not only from joint positions that hurt Hungarian interests, but we also find it useless to submit joint proposals that could be worked out only by leaving out the substantial elements and avoiding the genuine issues.

[Tmovszky] Is there any area in which it is justified and possible to work out a joint position?

Problems With the Common Denominator

[Somogyi] A definite part of the full picture is the fact that a well-timed and substantial declaration that reflects the joint position of an entire group of countries bears weight and can play an important role in dealing with some issues. For example, the fact that the countries in question represent similar or very close positions on the role of the United Nations or on certain disarmament issues also provides an opportunity for our group of countries to formulate such a joint position. At the same time, it is also true that it has become increasingly difficult to bring the opinions of individual socialist countries to a common denominator on human rights or world economic issues.

[Tmovszky] Finally, to what extent does the composition of the Hungarian delegation reflect our goals and the domestic changes that represent a background for its activity?

[Somogyi] This year our foreign minister will head the official Hungarian delegation, and the officials of our permanent UN mission will also participate in the activity of our delegation. Almost fewer Foreign Ministry experts on major problems, for reasons of economizing. According to the plans, the National Assembly will also be represented in the Hungarian delegation for the first time this year, and this is a novelty.

Position Chosen on Gabcikovo-Nagymaros Project

LD2709203589 Budapest MTI in English
1845 GMT 27 Sep 89

[Text] Budapest, September 27 (MTI)—The next Hungarian-Czechoslovak government meeting is scheduled to take place at the beginning of October in Prague, where a decision is expected to be reached on the Gabcikovo-Nagymaros project. The Hungarian position was finalized at today's government session, Zsolt Baynok, government spokesman, said, following the two-day marathon session.

Members of the government surveyed the contents of the 16 scientific surveys on the project, including reports on discussions held so far with Czechoslovak officials which ended without any results. The question was raised whether the fact that the Czechoslovak Government commissioner of the barrage project is also one of its designers did not reduce the chances of reaching an agreement. "This does not exclude the hope that the facts available on scientifically-established environmental hazards will induce our Czechoslovak partners to reflect on the matter," Mr Baynok replied.

The government also heard information from the national planning office on the state of the economy. Based on the economic achievements of the first eight months of the year and estimates for the end of the year, it was established that this year's growth sector of the economy is exports to the West. The production of metallurgy, the food industry and the chemical industry has increased, and the return from sales by the machine industry is expected to rise by eight per cent in the course of the year. The consumption of the population exceeds the amount planned for 1989 by 1-2 per cent. Wages have been increasing almost twice as fast as previously envisaged. Consumer inflation, currently at 16-17 per cent, also exceeds the planned level.

As a result of the strict monetary policy, the country's foreign trade balance was not disrupted after the liberalization of imports, the spokesman continued.

Another important subject of discussion was the rehabilitation of those sentenced on political grounds (including show-case trials), those interned without sentence, Hungarian emigres, and those citizens sentenced for taking

part in the 1956 popular uprising. According to a motion put forward by the chief public prosecutor, the documents of 16 showcase trials have been studied so far, including the trial documents of Cardinal Jozsef Mindszenty and his associates. It has been established that the sentences passed were too severe and unequivocally served political goals.

So far, investigations have revealed that in the period between 1945-1953, around 55,000 people were interned, including those taken to work in the Soviet Union, as well as those sentenced by the Soviet military court. About 43,000 people were relocated during this period. According to information available, some 17,000 of the former internees and those relocated are still alive. Following the 1956 events, about 22,000 people were sentenced. Besides receiving moral rehabilitation, their pension is now also to be put to rights, as far as the limited central budget permits.

After an interval of 22 years, the full re-establishment of Hungarian-Israeli diplomatic relations is considered an extremely important step by the Hungarian Government. Zsolt Rajnai stressed, adding that Hungary's Middle East policy remains unchanged. In other words, a comprehensive and just solution should be found to the permanent crisis in the region at an international conference to be convened under the auspices of the United Nations. This solution should recognize the legal rights of the Palestinians for self- determination, and the right to found their own state. Hungary intends to maintain its good relations with the Arab countries, Mr Rajnai concluded.

GDR's Schuerer, Nemeth Discuss Cooperation

LD2209191589 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1758 GMT 22 Sep 89

[Text] Budapest (ADN)—Miklos Nemeth, chairman of Hungary's Council of Ministers, member of the Hungarian Socialist Workers Party [MSZMP] Central Committee Presidium, today received Gerhard Schuerer candidate member of the SED Central Committee Politburo, deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers, and chairman of the GDR State Planning Commission, for talks in Budapest. During the exchange of opinions Miklos Nemeth and Gerhard Schuerer, who is in Budapest for 1 day of discussions on coordinating the national economic plans of the GDR and Hungary for the period 1991 to 1995, discussed current issues and tasks concerning further economic, scientific and technical cooperation.

Industry Minister Hopes Iran Trade Continues

LD2209181489 Budapest MTI in English 1405 GMT 22 Sep 89

[Text] Budapest, September 22 (MTI)—Ferenc Horvath, Hungary's minister of industry, said that he intended to discuss the broadening of trade and industrial cooperation between Hungary and Iran, particularly Hungarian participation in the remodeling of Iranian industry, but as reported the Iranian side had cancelled the visit one day before the departure of the Hungarian delegation, on account of Hungary's restoration of diplomatic relations with Israel.

The particular importance of this visit, said Mr Horvath, lay in the fact that in June this year Hungary and Iran replaced the former clearing accounting system that had been in force since 1975 with free currency accounting and new talks were now needed on the transitional period to prevent a fall in trade. In the field of industry, numerous new contacts are being established and expanding Hungarian exports affect some 60 companies. A group of leading energy experts from the Ministry of Industry are planning to visit Iran in November, along with businessmen looking to discuss engineering cooperation with Tehran, and Mr Horvath expressed the hope that the visit would go ahead.

A spokesman for the Hungarian Ministry of Trade said that Hungary's request to switch over to hard currency accounting in bilateral trade stemmed from bartering difficulties in the former clearing system which saw Iranians pricing oil for Hungary 20-25 per cent higher than on the world market. With imports of some 1 million tonnes it was considered that the price was not affordable. This trend was also observable with regard to numerous other products.

As far as bilateral barter is concerned, in 1985 Hungarian exports to Iran valued 123 million USD, in 1986, 55 million, in 1987, 119 million and last year 100 million. Imports valued 61 million, 64 million, 105 million and 30 million USD respectively. The new accounting system may lead to temporary fallback, but it is considered it may not necessarily last a lengthy period of time.

In future, besides agricultural, chemical and steel products, Hungary would like to export more engineering products to Iran, and Hungary will keep open the 200 million USD bank loan offered during the Hungarian prime minister's visit to Iran last year, despite the absence of a genuine response from Tehran. There are a number of other unsolved questions, such as how high freight costs can be cut to keep Hungarian export prices competitive. Recently Iran ordered 300,000 tonnes of wheat from Hungary, but freight costs are expected to be high.

The Hungarian ministries of industry and trade trust the cancellation of the industry minister's visit will only cause delay and not a break in trade and cooperation between the two countries, Mr Horvath concluded.

Karoly Grosz Elected Congressional Delegate

LD2309030789 Budapest MTI in English 1947 GMT 23 Sep 89

[Text] Budapest, September 23 (MTI)—Karoly Grosz, general secretary of the HSWP [Hungarian Socialist Workers Party], was elected congressional delegate by

the HSWP Nograd county party conference held in Salgotarjan on Saturday [23 September].

As reported, Karoly Grosz had already been delegated by the August 31 session of the county party committee, yet the results had been cancelled because of protest by reform circles.

Mr Grosz has made a contribution to the conference. He said that economic and political stabilization and advance require a Marxist socialist party which, uniting the working class and its allies, is capable of governing the country. He took sides with Communists not to be banned from places of employment. At the same time, he supports the idea of gradually shifting the focus of political activity to places of residence. He underlined that the HSWP undertook the achievements and values of the past four decades. He warned his audience that certain political opponents of the party meant renaissance when they spoke of taking the Communists to account.

Nyers Visits Szabolcs-Szatmar County 20 Sep

LD2009211189 Budapest MTI in English
1154 GMT 20 Sep 89

[Text] Budapest, September 20 (MTI)—Rezso Nyers, president of the Hungarian Socialist Workers Party, paid a brief visit to Szabolcs-Szatmar County Wednesday morning. The visitor met Kalman Gyorkiss, first secretary of the County Party Committee, in Nyiregyhaza, and was briefed on the political, social and economic situation and difficulties of the county.

Mr Nyers also held an exchange of views on the documents to be put forward to the October Congress with the congressional delegates of the Szabolcs area and members of the Central Committee from Nyiregyhaza, as well as members of the Executive Committee of the county branch. The party president is to visit the party committee in Mateszalka to discuss congressional documents with delegates and party activists of the Szatmar and Bereg Region.

Calls for Party 'Rejuvenation'

LD2009230189 Budapest MTI in English
1849 GMT 20 Sep 89

[Text] Budapest, September 20 (MTI)—As already reported, Hungarian Socialist Workers Party [HSWP] President Rezso Nyers paid a visit to Szabolcs-Szatmar county (NE Hungary) on Wednesday, where he held and exchanges with congressional deputies of the region, local members of the HSWP Central Committee and county party officials on the agenda of the party congress to be held in October, on related draft documents, and on current political issues.

Speaking about the possibility of a rift in the party, Mr Nyers stressed that he does not hold this idea realistic prior to the congress. During the congress however a rift might come about owing to ideology differences. The emergence of two powerful parties as a result could hardly be expected.

Mr Nyers said that the four-member party presidium is fully committed to co-operation from the outset, although there have been periods when an agreement was lacking on some issues. At present however a uniform position has been adopted on all important matters. It was also emphasized by Mr Nyers that considerable rejuvenation of the party leadership is required for the renewal of the HSWP.

Nyers Addresses Youth Rally Supporting Reforms

LD2109023189 Budapest MTI in English
2102 GMT 21 Sep 89

[Text] Budapest, September 21 (MTI)—"Towards a democratic, modern Hungary" is the motto of this year's events held with a view to supporting the ongoing reforms. The rally was held on Thursday by the left-wing Youth Association and the Movement of the Technical University for the Modern Hungary, in the building of the Budapest Technical University, with the aim of looking back on developments of the past year. One year ago, when the rally was first held, an answer was being worked to the question as to where and why we have lost our course. This year's debates however will be focused on whether or have found a solution. It is therefore evident that again the same politicians, politologists and historians have been invited to this year's event, including Imre Pozsgay, Csaba Hamori, Attila Agh, Bela Kadar and Sandor Balogh.

The evening commenced with a rally, where the speaker was Rezso Nyers, president of the HSWP [Hungarian Socialist Workers Party], who spoke about his conviction that without a powerful, democratic socialist movement the goals set cannot be achieved. In his view, in the socialist movement now being reorganized, the HSWP to be re-vitalized at its forthcoming congress, should play a decisive, leading role.

Mr Nyers emphasized that all those criticizing the previous monolithic, bureaucratic movement and its institutional system, should now pass up, or at least become companions on the trip, because if they should instead fight each other or assume only the role of those calling to give an account, then they are endangering the future. The youth, possessing a strong willpower, should be among the companions. If this willpower is coupled with a sober mind and deliberation they could well contribute to the success of the struggle for democracy, Mr Nyers concluded.

Pozsgay Says MSZMP To Change Name

LD2409091189 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 0900 GMT 24 Sep 89

[Text] According to Imre Pozsgay, after the October congress the Hungarian Socialist Workers Party

[MSZMP] will no longer be a communist party appropriate to the Bolshevik and Stalinist traditions. The party Presidium member in a statement to Italian Television said that the MSZMP will change its name and henceforth will call itself the Socialist Party. Pozsgay stressed that the experience he has gained in administrative work has convinced him that the time of the Marxist-Leninist, post-Stalinist model of leadership is over once and for all. Henceforth Hungary must build a democratic, pluralistic system, and the people itself will choose the way to do this.

According to Pozsgay, in its endeavors the MSZMP feels kinship with the West European socialist parties. For this very reason, it will no longer be a communist party in the traditional Stalinist sense of the word.

Imre Pozsgay added to all this that if at the October party congress the reformists do not win, and if the necessary transition or renewal fails to materialize, then he personally will leave the MSZMP.

Delay, 'Overdoing' Things Could Threaten Reforms

LD [Unsigned] Budapest MAGYAR HIRLAP in Hungarian 16 Sep 89 pp 1, 4

[Report by correspondent Edit S. Molnar: "Imre Pozsgay's Speech in Bolar—The Hungarian Reforms Are Facing Two Great Dangers"]

[Text] The events of the Hungarian-Polish friendship days were held in Boglartelle on 14 and 15 September under the slogan "Friends in Need—1939-1989." The events took place on the occasion of the 50th anniversary of the arrival of the first Polish refugees from Nazi-occupied Poland in Hungary, through our northern "green border." These people found refuge in Hungary, and the young people found schools in Bogler, the only Polish school in Europe at the time.

On the first day of the events, on 14 September, old Polish alumni recalled the memory of old times and met with the representatives of this town which continues to welcome guests the second day of the events, 15 September, was the day of official celebrations.

In the morning, Deputy Foreign Minister Istvan Gyarmati and Polish Ambassador Tadeusz Czechowicz planted together two young oak trees which had been planted the day before. They bound the two trees with ribbons in the Hungarian and Polish national colors, recalling in this way the lines of the well-known classical Polish poem according to which the centuries-old oak trees of Hungary and Poland grew near to one another and, in the course of time, their trunks, branches, and roots intertwined and strengthened each other.

Then, in the presence of Bogler City Council Chairman Jozsef Szabo, Tadeusz Czechowicz presented the decoration "Poland for Hungary" awarded to the city of Boglartelle by the Polish-Hungarian Council, and pinned it to the silk banner of the city. Minister of State Imre Pozsgay addressed the rally.

In his words recalling the events that had taken place 50 years ago, among other things, Imre Pozsgay stressed today's lessons that could be drawn from history. "From the beginning of World War II, the Polish people have given us an example of belonging to Europe, although in the past decades one preferred to be silent about this rather than speak up. Thousand-year-old nations do not die, although it is extremely painful that this war demanded the sacrifice of 5 million Polish people. The most wonderful thing about this is that this sacrifice—just like the sacrifices of earlier struggles for the defense of Europe—served to release the humaneness in us. It is also a lesson to be drawn that solidarity continues to live among nations that took the wrong path or which were deceived into this, irrespective of the obligations accepted by their leaders and of the pacts signed without the peoples' knowledge. The Hungarian Government at that time could not resist the will of the people either, and thus the Polish refugees did not arrive in Hungary with a feeling of shame at the defeat but, despite their awareness of deceived Europeanism, they found a home and warmth in Hungary.

"They were able to use their stay in Hungary to prepare for the battlefields of World War II. Much has been said about us after the war, but one of the lessons of these events that took place 50 years ago is that there are even stronger relations than ethnic relations between people, and the community of fate is such a relation. A history of 1,000 years bound us together.

"As a result of this community of fate, the western Slav Polish people and the Hungarians, deriving from a Finno-Ugric family, built up more friendly relations than any other country.

"Did Hungary do all that out of self-interest? The answer can be positive if we take into consideration that there is also a moral interest. This is completely different from trading in people. Human rights are sometimes more important than uncertain intergovernmental agreements, if we evaluate the power of the people's desire for freedom and help to settle their fate by even opening up a way for them. On the basis of such considerations, we can get involved in an affair whose the causes and consequences did not emerge from us."

In concluding his speech, Imre Pozsgay asked the Polish alumni to accept the renewal of our friendship in our current decisive century, when both Poland and Hungary are taking similar steps in many respects in order to get closer to a new type of European tolerance, a tolerance for which the events of 50 years ago can serve as a worthy example.

After the rally, Imre Pozsgay met with representatives of the Hungarian and Polish press. Answering a question from the Polish newspaper ZYCIE WARSZAWY, Imre Pozsgay said the Hungarian reforms are facing two great

dangers: delay and overdoing things. According to Pozsgay, the former is more dangerous. "Of course, our society's impatience is understandable, because it has to wait for the results of the political reforms while having to tolerate gradual poverty, an economic crisis, and increasing insecurity in everyday life. However, we must first put our policy in order and set up proper political institutions as soon as possible, and create new political laws, a constitutional order, and guarantees for a severe constitutional watchdog. All this requires a new election law, a law on political parties, a new state form, a new Penal Code, and a reform of criminal investigation, so that our citizens stop being afraid. Our functioning government, state, and parliament are able to carry all this out."

"Overdoing things is less dangerous, but we cannot allow a rapid transformation that could take the nature of a civil war. Nor can we allow all communists to be heaped together in one single bundle and dismissed with a single wave of the hand, as if there were no reform forces in the party which prepared these changes. The opposite is also dangerous: those conservatives, according to whom the mistakes of 40 years can be corrected, who say that there is no crisis and that it is precisely the reformers that we should get rid of."

The crisis has reached the party, too, and there is a need for change, but Imre Pozsgay did not identify with the idea that the party is facing the danger of breaking up into three parts, on the basis of the three trends in the party. "The party is preparing for the congress not by breaking up, but by considering the possibility of creating a new party in which the membership is not responsible for the crimes of the past 40 years. The core of this new party should be committed to the reform and renewal, and should be made up of people who understand that this system can no longer be maintained by patching it up, because it has become incapable of functioning. There is a need for a complete change of model, a change in the role and function of the party, by getting rid of the sense of mission that has prevailed so far, bidding farewell to the all-knowing and omnipotent party, and eliminating its style of lecturing the nation."

"The party should be evaluated in free elections. This requires a new basis, and a new and real program. The party should accept a new identity by relying on new basic rules in the spirit of democratic socialism, and by democratically renewing its internal structure. This requirement should also be reflected in the persons. In this concept the party center would not be where we think it is today, but would drift toward the people. The party should already appear in the congress in this renewed form."

Answering a question from MAGYAR HIRLAP about what can be expected of the congress if it is true that a considerable number of the delegates were not elected democratically, but that the old forces placed their people in this position, Imre Pozsgay said the following: "I have also heard of the anti-democratic election of delegates. However, this has been the most democratic election of congress delegates in the party's history. Thus, the situation of delegates elected as a result of the old 'democratic centralism' could lead to even stronger criticism. In spite of the anti-democratic residues, this time the number of delegates directly elected by the membership is greatest. In this way, the avant-garde role of the reformers is even more evident, because they came up with the slogan 'Wake Up, Comrades!' We must give up the idea of a party state and the practice of identifying the will of the party with the will of the state."

Assembly Reaches Consensus on 'Fundamental Laws'

LD2709174089 Budapest MTI in English 1600 GMT 27 Sep 89

[Text] Budapest, September 27 (MTI)—An extraordinary government session commenced in the parliament building on Thursday, both from the aspect of its duration and its agenda. In the domestic practice of government labours of the past decades no two-day "marathon" session has been held so far by the Council of Ministers. Zsolt Rajnai, acting spokesman of the government, was asked on the background to this unusually long conference by MTI's journalist.

At the first day's session, a number of such issues have been discussed by the government which are of fundamental importance in the legislative process of creating a constitutional state, Mr Rajnai said. In this connection he recalled that a consensus was reached at Monday's trilateral political coordination discussions on the so-called fundamental-laws. At its present session—with respect to the agreement reached—the Council of Ministers adopted the bills on the amendment of the Constitution, the operation and management of parties, the setting up of a court of Constitution, and the election of MPs to parliament.

The conviction was also formulated at the session that these laws are indispensable in creating the necessary conditions for a peaceful transition to a democratic constitutional state. The government therefore holds it important to table these drafts already at the forthcoming National Assembly, thus the fundamental laws will be presented to parliament with a priority motion.

In addition, the agenda of the session includes a number of economic, currency policy and financial issues. They included the motion giving an account on this year's economic processes, as well as the motions on the reform of the central bank, the price policy, the financial regulations also relating to councils, in the process of drawing up next year's economic management plans.

The government session is to be resumed on Friday.

Cuts Proposed for Workers Militia

LD2709211689 Budapest MTI in English 1757 GMT 26 Sep 89

[Text] Budapest, September 26 (MTI)—"If the duties of the Workers Militia are to change in future, then its

members can also change. This proposal is accepted by the members as well. At the same time, we find it reassuring that the government still expects the assistance of the Workers' Militia in defending the country," Lajos Borzai, spokesman for the organization, told MTI.

At the Monday trilateral medium-level political interest coordination talks, Imre Pozsgay announced the HSWP [Hungarian Socialist Workers Party] proposes to the government to slash the membership of the Workers' Militia from 60,000 to 40,000 by late 1990, as a measure aimed at boosting confidence. They also propose that the armed units within the corps be eliminated and the weapons placed under supervision of the Ministry of Defence. Mr Borzai added that as joining the corps is voluntary, he feels a proper solution would be to have withdrawals voluntary, too. It would not be right to force anyone to leave the corps, questioning their honesty.

The spokesman also said that 900 persons had applied for admission this year, and about the same number of former members indicated their intention to rejoin the ranks. There is no exact figure on those wishing to leave; it is estimated at several thousand.

Lajos Borzai also said that weapons of the Workers' Militia include pistols, machine pistols, machine guns, light machine guns, and grenade-throwing machine pistols. They used to have anti-tank guns and trench mortars, which were pulled out a long time ago.

Trade Unions, Workers Party Air Differences

LD2709174089 Budapest MTI in English 1718 GMT 21 Sep 89

[Text] Budapest, September 21 (MTI)—Several rounds of talks have been held between the Presidium of the HSWP [Hungarian Socialist Workers Party] led by its President Rezso Nyers, and trade union leaders, headed by Sandor Nagy, general secretary of the National Council of Trade Unions (SZOT).

Officials of the trade unions said that discussions were focussed on the differences of opinion existing between the two organisations. Trade unions are themselves active in seeking cooperation with the parties and movements recognising left-wing values and representing employees' interests.

The HSWP Presidium assured the leaders of SZOT that it supports through its means available to necessary government measures required by the trade unions having also indispensable for their future functioning. [sentence as received]

FRG, GDR Ambassadors on Refugees in Warsaw

LD2509122389 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 22 Sep 89 p 2

[PAP report: "Is the FRG Embassy Working Normally?"]

[Text] According to unofficial data, a certain number of GDR citizens, between 15 and 20 of them, who had previously stayed at the FRG Embassy in Warsaw, left this embassy on 20 September and took up residence in a town on the outskirts of Warsaw.

Asked by a POLISH PRESS AGENCY [PAP] reporter about this matter, the FRG Embassy's press attache said that, basically, the situation in the FRG Embassy is the same as yesterday. He refused to provide details because of the delicacy of the problem.

Asked whether the large groups of GDR citizens had really left the embassy, and if so, how, FRG Ambassador Franz Joachim Schoettle said: "A few people have left the embassy, but I cannot confirm it." The ambassador said he hoped that a pragmatic and humanitarian solution, acceptable to all the relevant parties, would be found.

"I view the matter in a similar way," said GDR Ambassador Juergen van Zwoll.

The PAP journalist also asked Wladyslaw Kaczynski, deputy director of the Foreign Ministry's Press and Information Department and acting Foreign Ministry press spokesman, for an opinion. W. Kaczynski said: "The matter involves two countries with which Poland maintains comprehensive relations. We believe the matter should be settled by these countries in accordance with their interests and those of the persons involved. In order to achieve this purpose Poland is maintaining contacts with both the GDR and FRG sides. We are performing a kind of service, making it easier for both sides to reach a satisfactory solution."

Freedom Movement Protests at CSSR Embassy

LD2309211589 Warsaw PAP in English 2126 GMT 21 Sep 89

[Text] Warsaw, Sept. 23—The Krakow-based movement "Freedom and Peace" (WiP), together with other unofficial movements, demonstrated in front of the Czechoslovak Embassy in Warsaw today, against the construction of a huge coking plant in Stonawa, a place in Czechoslovakia near the Polish border, which is believed dangerous to the environment in Poland.

The demonstrators, joined by Slovak environmentalists, also demanded ending repressions against Czech and Slovak environmentalists also protesting against the construction in their country.

A demonstration was also held at the building of the Council of Ministers calling on the government to start prompt action on the issue. At the Sejm building, the demonstrators met with a WiP pacifist picket which had earlier been visited by Minister of Labour and Social Policy Jacek Kuron and Minister of Justice Aleksander Bentkowski.

Havel's 'Open Letter' to Pozsgay, Mazowiecki

LD2709115089 Warsaw GAZETA WYBORCZA in Polish 27 Sep p 6

[**"Open letter" from Vaclav Havel, Czechoslovak opposition**ist, to Imre Pozsgay, Hungarian minister of state and Politburo member of the Hungarian Socialist Workers Party, and Premier Tadeusz Mazowiecki]

[Text] Dear Mr Pozsgay and Mr Mazowiecki,

I would like to appeal to you both, which may sound surprising, but I have good reasons for doing so. In Czechoslovakia not so long ago, two of my Slovak friends, Miro Kusy and Jan Carnogursky, were arrested and charges have been brought against them. They remind me of you.

Miro Kusy is a senior lecturer in philosophy, and during Dubcek's time he was secretary of the Central Committee of the Slovak Communist Party. He is a reform-oriented Communist who believes that the Communist Party's monopoly on power should not be enshrined in the Constitution. The party must compete for power in conditions of free competition.

Miro Kusy's political views are almost identical to yours, Mr Pozsgay. If in 1968 the armies of the Warsaw Pact had not intervened in Czechoslovakia, he would undoubtedly occupy a similar position in Czechoslovakia to the one that you occupy today in Hungary.

You, Mr Mazowiecki, are most often described as a Catholic intellectual who cares deeply for the fate of his own country. This is an apt description of Jan Carnogursky, although he is a good deal younger than you. Were Czechoslovakia to embark on the road leading to reforms, one could not preclude the possibility that Carnogursky would not receive a similar mission to the one that you have accepted.

These comparisons compel one to consider the converse situation. If you were living in present-day Czechoslovakia, you would quite likely be arrested for your views and your social activity, as happened to Miro Kusy and Jan Carnogursky.

You both hold important positions in your respective countries, countries that are not only the closest neighbors of Czechoslovakia, but are tied to Czechoslovakia by numerous alliances. I am convinced that if both of you were to speak out publicly in defense of the arrested Slovak activists for democracy, who are threatened with absurdly high penalties, your calls would not remain without effect.

I strongly implore you to take up their case. This gesture would not only help my imprisoned friends and Czechoslovak society, but such a gesture also lies in your

respective countries' interest. I cannot imagine that the desire of Hungary and Poland to create a pluralistic and democratic social order can remain effective for any length of time if the murky wedge of conservative Czechoslovakia continues to be driven between them, a Czechoslovakia where critics of the present leadership are prosecuted to an even greater extent than during Brezhnev's time.

Freedom for Miroslav Krupa and Jan Carnogursky, as well as for the others who are accused with them—namely, Hana Ponicka, Anton Selecky, and Vladimir Manca—also means freedom for ourselves and freedom for our three respective countries.

I ask you both for your help.

Daily Reports 'Lithuania Ruled by Sajudis'

LD2309171289 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 20 Sep 89 p 3

[Stanislaw Koperowicz article: "Sajudis—Fear or Hope"]

[Excerpts] Lithuania is ruled not by the Communist Party, but by Sajudis—the Lithuanian Movement for Perestroyka. That is the opinion I encountered everywhere in Lithuania. However, members of the Central Committee or government with whom I talked were more cautious and perhaps closer to the truth when they said that Sajudis really enjoys major influence in Lithuanian society and shapes daily life in the republic through its own people in the authorities, mass media, and educational establishments.

This applies particularly to domestic policy, the legislature, propaganda, and the building of more than just key posts. So far it has not been able to revive the economy so that people might enjoy a better standard of living. On the contrary, the increasing shortage of the most necessary commodities is placing a question mark over the future of the political reforms.

In the opinion of some Lithuanian citizens of Polish origin (I will not reveal their names) Sajudis is the chief enemy of their national identity. They told me that before Sajudis came along, life was peaceful. We have successfully defended ourselves against Russification ever since the war and, one should add for the sake of justice, with the approval of the Lithuanian authorities and society, they said. But now that perestroyka has arrived and Moscow has loosened the corset of internal restrictions and is applying the principle of equal rights for all ethnic minorities, Poles in Lithuania are threatened with the loss of what little they already have.

I decided to obtain more information from the very source. Virgilius Cepaitis, acting general secretary of Sajudis, was not very willing to talk to me at first. The Polish press is not writing kind things about us, he said, providing a quotation from *ZYCIE WARSZAWY*. The Catholic press is more objective. However, an accurate picture of our situation is provided by underground and "Solidarity" papers.

I promised to be objective and would like to keep that promise. [passage omitted]

I asked Cepaitis about the relationship between Sajudis and the Lithuanian Communist Party. There is no confrontation with the Communist Party, but rather cooperation, he replied. Of the 34 members of the Sajudis parliament, the highest body, only 16 belong to the party. In this respect we are different from, for example, Georgia, where the Popular Front will not accept members who are Communists. We believe the Communists are too powerful a force and that without them we can achieve nothing. In fact, with their help we can achieve much. [passage omitted]

I wanted to know where Sajudis gets the money for its extensive activity. It has asked factories for contributions, and has received R0.5 million, one of which is donated R500,000 to help Armenia, and still has R1 million in their bank account, Cepaitis replied. We are also earning money from publications and newspapers, which are expensive and widely circulated. We publish not only in Lithuanian, but also in Russian. We also intend to publish a Polish edition of our RUBRYKI. [passage omitted]

Party Daily on Gorbachev, Nationalities Plenum

LD2309162289 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 20 Sep 89 p 6

[Commentary by Moscow correspondent Jerzy Krasowski: "The Need for Balanced Assessment"]

[Text] As I am writing this, Soviet television is showing a report from the conference hall of the CPSU Central Committee. The radio has also carried a report on the first all-union channel. I must point out that this is something quite new in informing the public about the work of the Central Committee.

As Mikhail Gorbachev said, the logic of the process of restructuring has led to deeper analyses of present-day nationality problems. It is true to say it has been dictated by the logic of the process, because when the great reforms were begun in the spring of 1985, it was not clear what proportions the phenomenon would assume. The truth is that one cannot bank on the success of restructuring without the resolution of numerous nationality problems, and the reverse is true: one cannot bank on the resolution of present-day nationality problems without political and economic reforms.

Gorbachev's report has a comprehensive character and serves as a detailed commentary to the draft Central Committee position paper on nationality policy, which was published in the middle of August, and to the debate preceding the plenum. It would appear that the general secretary has introduced a m[illegible] approach to

assessments that have, for a long time, been prompted by strong emotions and feelings or, perhaps, deliberate attempts to misrepresent reality and a blatant lack of objectivity. In historical terms, this represents a call not to replace one half-truth with another. It is wrong to present a rosy picture of the past, but it is also wrong to paint it black. The truth is more complex. Excesses and nihilism in historical assessments are to be condemned.

In political terms, it represents a profounder analysis of the processes that resulted in Soviet statehood assuming its current form. In relation to economic questions, this is a convincing argument in favor of the development of regional self-government, but a development that would enhance, not weaken those phenomena that unite.

There needs to be a renewal of nationality policy, but it cannot involve the rejection of what has been achieved through the efforts of the various peoples in the past. The way in which peoples define themselves, in accordance with Lenin's intentions, is not a one-time act, but a continuous process. It means more rights within republican borders, but also means greater republican influence on all-union problems.

The report was polemical, and its sharp polemical tone was further underscored by the emotional way in which Gorbachev delivered it. Gorbachev departed from his text on several occasions to emphasize certain points or to provide an additional interpretation, and he was often interrupted by applause.

This was the case when he said that resolving conflicts by political means does not mean that legal instruments will not be employed when necessary; when he suggested that, in accordance with the law, nationalistic, chauvinist, and extremist organizations should be dissolved; when he appealed to the peoples of Armenia and Azerbaijan to halt the dangerous course of events; and when speaking about the role of the CPSU, he expressed his resolute opposition to the federalization of the party.

Foreign Minister Leaves for UN Session

LD2709141 Moscow PAP in English 1114 GMT 27 Sep 89

[Text] Warsaw, Sept. 27, Polish Diplomacy Chief Krzysztof Skubiszewski left for New York today to take part in the annual session of U.N. General Assembly. Before takeoff he told PAP:

"In my speech I intend to start from the sport of Prime Minister Mazowiecki's expose and refer to the most important problems troubling the world today and also affecting the situation in this country. I include in them especially problems of peace and international security consolidation, disarmament, support for U.N. efforts in peaceful solution of regional conflicts, and the support for U.N. activities aimed at improving the people's living standards, prevention of further degradation of natural environment, respect for human rights, and strengthening of the rule of international law.

"I will also refer to the question of international economic cooperation and the growing debt problem, exceptionally important for today's Poland," Minister Skubiszewski said.

"The most important task of Polish foreign policy today is effective support for the process of democratic changes and sweeping economic reforms in Poland. We want openness to East and West in our policy," he added.

Skubiszewski on 'Finlandization,' United Germany

LD2709203 Moscow Warsaw Television Service in Polish 1730 GMT 27 Sep 89

[Text] [Announcer] Foreign Minister Krzysztof Skubiszewski has gone to New York to attend the UN General Assembly session. Before his departure he granted his first interview as head of diplomacy to television news.

[Begin recording] [Correspondent Barbara Gruda] Minister, the premier confirmed in his report and during his meeting with the diplomatic corps Poland's international alliances, however reserving full autonomy in internal matters. Does this mean the beginning of the process of Poland's Finlandization, which is being spoken of more and more often?

[Skubiszewski] The sovereignty of the Polish state externally, and full independence as far as our internal affairs is concerned, are the principles of our foreign policy. As far as the word finlandization is concerned, I would have various doubts which are, after all, shared by the Finnish people. Poland will arrange its foreign relations in such a way that it remains a fully sovereign country.

[Gruda] And the second issue which arouses general discussion is the issue of Germany's reunification. The opinion has been expressed that reunification would be in keeping with the Polish raison d'etat. What is your opinion, as head of diplomacy and a German affairs expert, on this subject?

[Skubiszewski] There is no doubt that this is a matter, firstly, for the Germans themselves. They have a right to decide their own fate, including their state's fate. But there are other levels. The second level is the responsibility of the four great powers which still occupy Germany. They still have some say. And it is on the four great powers—the United States, the USSR, Great Britain, and France—that Germany's future as a united state depends. And finally, we have the third, all-European level. And here, all of Europe has some say, and especially Germany's neighbors.

[Gruda] Minister, this is your first foreign trip as head of the new coalition government's diplomacy. Who will you talk to, can you tell us something about it?

[Skubiszewski] Yes, certainly. I will talk to the foreign ministers of the main powers, that is, the five permanent members of the Security Council, the USSR, the United States, Great Britain, France, and the Chinese People's

Republic, as well as in many other countries. How this will be arranged chronologically I do not know. That is why I cannot give you a detailed list.

[Grad] Thank you very much. [end recording]

Urban Replaced as TV, Radio Committee Head

LD2309123089 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1200 GMT 23 Sep 89

[Text] Premier Tadeusz Mazowiecki has recalled Jerzy Urban from the post of Radio and Television Committee chairman. He has appointed Dr Andrzej Drawicz lecturer at the Jagiellonian University, to the post.

Andrzej Drawicz is well known for his numerous articles, essays, and literary sketches. He is also a Russian linguist.

Mazowiecki Appoints Under Secretaries

LD2309180989 Warsaw Television Service in Polish 1700 GMT 22 Sep 89

[Text] The Council of Ministers chairman has made the following decisions regarding personnel:

At the request of the minister, head of the Council of Ministers office, he appointed Waldemar Kuczyński as under secretary of state and Tadeusz Olechowski as foreign policy adviser to the premier.

At the finance minister's request, he recalled Sławomir Marczuk from the post of under secretary of state and appointed Dr Wojciech Misiąg to that post.

At the internal market minister's request, he recalled Andrzej Głowacki from the post of under secretary of state and released him from the office of government plenipotentiary for marketization of the food economy. He appointed Marek Borowski as an under secretary of state.

At the labor and social policy minister's request, he recalled Professor Stanisława Borkowska from the post of under secretary of state in connection with her transfer to academic work. Wiesław Jasecki from the post of under secretary of state, appointing him director general. Anna Kozierska from the post of government plenipotentiary for women's affairs. She remains Polish committee for standardization of weights and measures deputy chairwoman. He appointed Dr Helena Gonialska under secretary of state.

At the minister's request, [illegible] of the central planning office, he recalled Dr Stanisław Długosz from the post of secretary of state and appointed him under secretary of state in that office. Karol Szwarc was appointed secretary of state.

Premier Addresses Parliamentarians in Warsaw

LD2309193089 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1600 GMT 23 Sep 89

[Text] In a short speech at the International Conference of Parliamentarians in Warsaw, Premier Tadeusz Mazowiecki said that the government faces two basic tasks: overcoming the deep economic crisis and the development of democracy. Addressing representatives of parliaments and economic circles from the United States and eight West European countries, the premier stressed that their aid is necessary and in a most efficient manner.

Walesa, Lis, Kołodziejski Weigh Past 9 Years

LD2309110489 Gdańsk DZIENNIK BAŁTYCKI in Polish 7 Sep 89 pp 1, 3

[Commentaries by three signatories of 31 August 1980 Gdańsk agreement—Solidarity chairman Lech Wałęsa, senator and Solidarity Presidium member Bogdan Lis, and Professor Jerzy Kołodziejski of Gdańsk Polytechnic—granted to DZIENNIK BAŁTYCKI correspondents Alina Ponowska and Barbara Lubicz on the 9th anniversary of the signing of the Gdańsk agreement. "The Polish (R)evolution." First three paragraphs are editorial introduction.]

[Text] It is now 9 years since the signing of the social agreements between government commissions and interfactory strike committees in Szczecin, Gdańsk, and Jastrzębie. All Poland watched as, in highly dramatic circumstances, the idea of national accord took shape in front of everybody's eyes.

How do the participants in that historic event assess it now, from the perspective of the present day, which is also marked by unprecedented transformations both here in Poland and throughout our geopolitical region? What connection do they see between then and now, and how, in their opinion, have the events of 9 years ago contributed to influence present developments?

In response to our editors' request, three signatories of the Gdańsk Agreement shared their reflections on the above questions with us. They were: Lech Wałęsa, chairman of Independent Self-Governing Trade Unions [NSZZ] Solidarity's National Executive Commission [KKW]; Senator Bogdan Lis, chairman of NSZZ Solidarity's Foreign Commission and member of the KKW Presidium; and, finally, Professor Jerzy Kołodziejski of Gdańsk Polytechnic.

Lech Wałęsa

I am very reluctant to indulge in reminiscences. I know that we have had both ups and downs, both joys and sorrows, along the road that we took. I know that we must pick ourselves up after every [illegible] and that we must not become complacent when we are doing well. I thought then, back in 1980, that we had succeeded in getting as much done as was possible at the time, given

the stage of our awareness at the time. I am not going to analyze it now. Was it or was it not a mistake? Could we have asked for more, and how much would we have got then? We resolved that puzzle as best we could and as circumstances allowed at the time. Now we are going further and we want good visibility along the road ahead. One day, history will judge our efforts.

Of course I could not know at the time how things would develop. I think no one could have foreseen the course of events which was to follow. As for myself, as recently as a month ago I never imagined that things would turn out as they have and that we would have a prime minister hailing from Solidarity circles. Instead, I was hoping for a situation like we have now to develop in some 4 years' time, so that we could be better prepared for it and approach it from more pluralistic positions as regards both our program and our cadres. However, I found myself forced to act. Maybe we are unlucky to have had that kind of experience, for as I watched that personnel merry-go-round spin on and on, I really became scared.

Although, to tell the truth, all those people—General Jaruzelski, Mieczysław Rakowski, Czesław Kiszczak, and many others—do support the reforms. Some are more in favor of them than others, but there is no doubt that Czesław Kiszczak is for them. Consequently, there was no danger from the personality angle. On the other hand, there was the danger of a structural comeback, of a revival of a single-party-system monopoly of power. That is something I am mortally afraid of. I watched that merry-go-round turning and I saw that everything was happening in a time-honored way, still within the confines of the one party, and right up at the top, too.

Had it been left at that, we would have been blamed for years to come for allowing the first party secretary to become president, the premier to become first secretary, and the minister of the interior to take the premier's place. It was an example of a classically pure model of a monopoly of power in action. We could not agree to that, although I am well aware that I have been unfair to a few people who did not deserve it. But it is not they who are at stake here. It is Poland that is at stake.

To go back to the past 9 years, I must say that all that time I have been working in the same spirit of hope in which I left the shipyard on the memorable day when the strike ended, although the times have not been easy. But I have never for a moment doubted that I was doing the right thing, even at the most difficult times. I am not talking about Walesa's private ambitions here. No! I have proved that many times already, on a number of occasions—including the one when I did not want to accept the office of president, much less that of prime minister, although I was offered them quite unequivocally.

I am thus not interested in furthering my own ambitions. I am interested in the fact that we represent a challenge in our times. Solidarity, and I with it, are symbols of that challenge. A challenge in the era of computers, mathematical machines, and pluralism. My motto is: "The higher the technology, the greater the freedom." Consequently, there must be a number of different interpretations of pluralism and different solutions to the difficult problems of the present day.

It must be concluded from this that our systems must no longer remain so inflexible and so antipluralistic, denying individuals the opportunity to develop and expand. The world has moved in the direction of progress and development a long time ago, and we must also begin to create such systems. This is why I did not succumb to despair behind the shipyard walls in 1980, nor later, because everything that we are doing—Solidarity and I personally—is a consequence of the spirit of our times.

[illegible]

I find it difficult today to speak about those days. Perhaps this is because I was nearly 10 years younger, less experienced, and more emotional in my reactions and outlook on life. Consequently, I entertained a fervent hope that we had already put behind us the period when society was unable to decide about anything that concerned it, and that we were beginning something that would at long last give Poland a uniquely Polish character.

Has my hope come true? I must say it has not, at least in these past 8 years. Will it still come true? We shall see. We are witnessing an extremely interesting situation these days. A great many things are happening at once, and they are the sort of things about which we could not even dream back in 1980. We were at that time aware of the existing limitations. Today our hopes and our aspirations are different, more balanced, but the enthusiasm that was prevalent in those days has now disappeared. The skeptical attitudes common today are caused not only by the mounting problems of everyday existence but also by the cumulative experience of the past 40 years. As a result, we have what I would call the general impotence syndrome.

I think that the new government and the new premier hailing from Solidarity circles should within the next few weeks put forward a program offering us some realistic prospect for the future which would invigorate people's hopes and make them eager to work and anxious to make something of their lives. Only such a program can give them a chance to win back people's trust and allow them to start changing Poland not only in the formal and legislative spheres which open up opportunities for action, but also in the sphere of people's consciousness.

Those years were very difficult. That is also why it is difficult to talk about them. There were moments when I was assailed by conflicting thoughts and emotions. I would be dishonest if I were to claim that I had no doubts. Naturally, I did have doubts, but somehow I do not associate them with the situation as it was then, rather I associate them with an awareness of the lack of progress on the path we were following. This is changing today. Time will show to what an extent it is changing.

Jerzy Kolodziejski

The events of August 1980, which culminated in the signing of the Gdansk agreement, initiated an era of revolutionary changes in Poland's political, social, and economic system. It is no exaggeration to claim that they began a new Polish revolution, a revolution whose characteristic feature is that fundamental changes are made by way of evolution.

To go back to those August days when we signed the agreement, I believe that their greatest significance lay in their political dimension. Both sides understood even then that the social explosion which erupted in Gdansk and was spreading throughout Poland was the consequence of a culmination of contradictions during the whole postwar period.

The most important of these, which also contributed to the eruption of the August protests, were the contradictions resulting both from the tensions between totalitarian, autocratic methods employed in the exercise of power and society's aspirations to non-subordinate status and equal partnership in the running of the country and from the discrepancy between the ever-deepening crisis of the excessively centralized, inefficient, and material-intensive economic system and the growing needs and aspirations of the population.

In the period immediately preceding the August events that system failed to meet even the most elementary living requirements such as adequate provision of food, accommodation, and health care. After all, there had been many previous instances when the growing social tension and unrest was revealed.

It was obvious to us—and I believe that included both sides of the negotiating table—that we had to come to an agreement, or to negotiate a compact that would gradually eliminate the contradictions and discrepancies and the resultant social conflicts.

The Gdansk agreement provided just such a compact and created the foundations for a profound reform of Poland's sociopolitical and economic system. What, then, were the ingredients of the beginning of the Polish revolution? I should like to point to and identify three distinct processes which followed as a consequence of the Gdansk agreements and which have led, through a variety of twists and turns, to the present-day situation.

First, the August events helped to awaken a new consciousness in Polish society—a consciousness demonstrated on a massive scale and expressed in exceptionally dynamic ways. All the essential needs and deeply-felt aspirations of the population were given powerful expression. The key issue was the desire to attain a system of democratic participation in the exercise of power, to achieve freedom and civic liberties, and to reach a state of material prosperity. The tremendous force of the new social consciousness was the main driving factor behind the introduction of all subsequent changes. At this point I should like to stress that these processes are still very much alive and that they constitute the driving force behind the changes taking place today.

Second, the August agreements made it possible to legitimize the qualitatively new, grassroots-initiated organization—or social movement—which became the vehicle for people's hopes, strivings, and aspirations. For the first time in a socialist system an organization which originated within society itself was created as a result of society's compact with the authorities.

Solidarity was created as a trade union because of the requirements of the situation and the conditions of the time, but very soon it became obvious that from its very inception it was a sociopolitical movement. Also, a national movement. This was inherent in the situation in Poland at the time, in the fact that the problems of changing the political system were not yet resolved (this was the consequence of the first discrepancy I discussed here), as well as the sweeping nature of the people's desire for revolutionary changes and the impossibility of sorting out the economic questions without the introduction of institutional political changes. Solidarity became a guarantor of the transformations stipulated in the Gdansk agreements—and not only in those. Also in the agreements that were requested by society after August 1980.

For the first time the authorities and the ruling party were presented with the reality of political and social pluralism—a condition which was still unofficial, but already becoming firmly established in the existing circumstances—although, to begin with, they refused to acknowledge it.

It was precisely the emerging social consciousness and the process of Solidarity's becoming a sociopolitical movement that animated the transformation process within the country's political, social, and economic system. Under their influence these transformations became greatly accelerated. Even so, they were still too slow compared with the rate at which social consciousness was developing. They were too slow because they had to contend with formidable resistance on the part of the existing bureaucratic, centralized, monopoly structures. These refused to accept anything new, even if promoted by the ruling party.

We surely remember the tremendous resistance to transformations within the party. We remember how long we had to wait for the party congress! Long enough to make the ideas formulated at the 9th Polish United Workers Party [PZPR] Congress seem old and stale. And what about external considerations? After all, that was the heyday of the Brezhnev doctrine—a doctrine of "fraternal help" in the event of any revolutionary changes in the political systems of neighboring countries. That, too, was something to take into consideration.

I believe that it was for all those reasons that the highly dramatic situation, which culminated in the declaration of martial law, arose after a year or so of this state of affairs. It was yet another of our common negative

experiences. It highlighted the principle that an established political and economic system should not experience any violent disruption of the existing balance of political forces. If such a disruption occurs, it can lead to a disintegration of the transformations now being effected by political methods into straightforward confrontation.

What conclusions relevant to our situation should be drawn from what I have said so far?

First, I believe that Poland's past experience—which suggests that every conflictual situation, however explosive, can be defused by the application of dialogue, agreement, or social contract, provided that both sides fully understand the exigencies of the existing historical situation in which, as a rule, the chances of effecting the transformations consist with certain limitations, be they external or internal—is still very relevant to its position today. I believe that at the moment the situation in Poland is highly complex and ripe for conflict even if no large-scale conflict has erupted as yet. It could develop into social or political conflict at any moment, at the slightest provocation. This situation must also be resolved by means of agreement, dialogue, or consensus, all of these taking into consideration the limitations which still accompany our Polish transformations.

The second conclusion, which is somewhat interrelated with the previous one, rests on the thesis that the process of sociopolitical and economic transformations should not upset the balance of forces determined by the roundtable agreement to an extent where one of the sides might feel threatened. The state of being threatened stimulates the fighting instinct and the necessity for self-defense and results in the situation's degenerating into aggressive-defensive confrontation. Such a situation could potentially develop if ever the PZPR is radically and abruptly removed from the position of joint rule.

Finally, the third conclusion I would draw from our situation is linked to the qualitatively new demarcation line between political options presenting themselves today. This is no longer a division between the authorities and society, or between the PZPR and Solidarity. Such divisions are no longer relevant to the existing situation or its resolution. I think that the most significant division is that which has already become apparent in the process of Polish transformations today. It emerged as the difference between on the one hand the reform forces, that is, political forces and people who shoulder the burden of carrying out the reforms and on the other the opposing groups of conservative forces which, for a variety of reasons, hamper the transformation process.

Against this background there can be no talk about excluding either the PZPR or Solidarity from the reform process. This is because both these political groups contain forces which formulate a similar program for Polish political and economic reform. After all the roundtable talks already highlighted the existence of these forces in each camp. Moreover they also demonstrated that the remaining differences can all be removed in the course of dialogue and agreement.

The overall conclusion is, in my opinion, optimistic. If it were possible to create a situation which would stimulate the efforts of reformers from all political camps in a way that would help them to outbid all the conservative forces, it would mean taking a significant step forward. I believe this is an argument for the creation of the grand coalition. A blueprint for such a coalition was recently proffered by Wojciech Jaruzelski, and now also Tadeusz Mazowiecki and Lech Walesa have offered their prospects. I think this is the only way. The alternative solution brings us confrontation, either of the explosive or the creeping variety.

PZPR's Miller on Party Support, Reform

AU2709111689 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 19 Sep pp 1-3

[Interview with Leszek Miller, PZPR Politburo member and Central Committee secretary, by TRYBUNA LUDU's Zenon Kulej in Warsaw on 18 September: "Before Asking About the Party, Questions Were Asked About Poland!"]

[Text] TRYBUNA LUDU: You have just finished delivering a report to the Central Committee. As far as I could tell, you did not read it, but spoke on the basis of certain points that had been prepared beforehand.

L. Miller: Yes.

TRYBUNA LUDU: A large part of your speech should not come as a surprise to TRYBUNA LUDU readers. It contained ideas that you had already voiced at meetings with party aktivs in Kalisz, Siedlce, Lodz and Skierniewice, which TRYBUNA LUDU reported on.

L. Miller: Some of the themes did indeed come up during my recent meetings with regional aktivs. There is nothing surprising about that. In fact the leadership should develop its views on the basis of its contacts with the broad grassroots membership, with the aktivs.

TRYBUNA LUDU: Let us return to the most important ideas that appeared in today's speech. You began with the question: "Why did the Polish United Workers Party [PZPR] enter the government?"

L. Miller: I reiterated what I and other members of the leadership have been saying recently, that is, the key issue is the future of the fatherland. That is why I even said: "We should always ask about Poland before we ask about the party." We realize and appreciate the fact that Tadeusz Mazowiecki's government has a chance to implement reform. At the same time we might consider it a source of satisfaction that it has transpired that there is no alternative to our programs for reforming the country. In fact, a large part of the proposals contained in the premier's speech make direct reference to our

concepts, especially those of the recent past, that is, when Mieczyslaw F. Rakowski was premier.

Of course, generally speaking, I do not think that the division into "us" and "them" benefits the country. The national interest, rather than party goals, was the very thing that led us to lend our support to the new government. Of course, we do reserve to ourselves the right to criticize if, in practice, government action proves to run counter to the constitutional principles that are espoused by the PZPR.

TRYBUNA LUDU: Everything will depend on how strong the party is....

I. Miller: The public has perceived the party as being alone in bearing responsibility, and although the party was capable of identifying the direction in which reforms must head, it was unable to push through the implementation of the necessary reforms. "Solidarity" would also be unable to continue with the reforms by itself. Of course, I realize that our attitude toward "Solidarity" is becoming rather more complex today. The dividing line between trade union and political party has become blurred. The partnerlike cooperation between two forces that have shed mutual prejudices that we talked about at the 15th Central Committee plenum may become a qualitatively new element in Poland's history. However, we will only be a partner that counts if we are strong.

TRYBUNA LUDU: What are the sources of party strength? You talked about allies, and you included all who hold left-wing views, trade unions, socialist youth unions among them, but you also stressed that there were other sources of strength....

I. Miller: One of the things that I pointed out was that it is essential to constantly cultivate public support. The Senate elections showed that more than 4 million people voted for our candidates and that about 6 million people voted for some of our National List candidates. At the same time, about 40 percent of the electorate failed to vote. That really represents a large section of the electorate, and we have to make constant efforts to win its support. Our cadres represent another source of strength. There are a lot of outstanding specialists and people who enjoy prestige in our ranks. It pleased us very much to hear the premier say that competence will be the only factor that counts.

TRYBUNA LUDU: But there have also been views attacking cadres coming from the ranks of the opposition....

I. Miller: Despite the premier's statement, we will have to struggle here and there against attempts to replace the nomenklatura with a kind of non-veteran preference principle based exclusively on services in the struggle against what have been the authorities until now.

TRYBUNA LUDU: This ties in with the efforts of some "Solidarity" cells to remove party organizations from the workplace.

I. Miller: Attempts of this kind have been made at the "Kazimierz Jaluzy" coal mine and the "Ursus" tractor plant. The Central Committee's reply to party comrades in these plants was: Yes, we support your stance! We think that the workplace status quo should be preserved until the new law on political parties is passed.

TRYBUNA LUDU: To return to the sources of the PZPR's strength, you talked about the relationship between the Central Committee and PZPR Deputies Club.

I. Miller: The club provides a great opportunity. Its role is growing, and it is becoming the main forum through which the PZPR can exercise an influence on the life of the state. We all have a responsibility to make deputies feel that they enjoy the support of the party. We must provide them with information, analyses, equipment and facilities, and make sure that they can receive assistance from the party apparatus, and not just here, in Central Committee headquarters, but also in the voivodship shops. Of course, the relationship is a two-way process, and there is nobody or anything that can divest the deputy of the responsibility that he bears for the party and its future.

TRYBUNA LUDU: You said that the party apparatus—the apparatus that has been the target of many attacks in recent weeks—was one of the sources of the party's strength.

I. Miller: The apparatus that is being attacked no longer exists, just as many critics of the party do not want to acknowledge the changes that are taking place in the PZPR. Efforts are being made to keep up the 1950's image of the party and its apparatus. However, what I have just said does not mean that I am completely pleased with our apparatus. We have to make further changes in its structure with a view to making it provide more assistance and fewer instructions.

TRYBUNA LUDU: Party members recognize that there is a need for these changes, and the 11th congress is to provide one of the ways of speeding them up. When will we be given a date for the congress?

I. Miller: During the second half of the plenum, that is, in about 10 days' time. After all, the success of the congress will depend on what we do before it, not after it. That is why the participation of the entire party in preparations for the congress should be the main aim of our work over the next few months. The proposal that we put forward today to conduct a poll, which will sum up views on the current state of the party, within the entire party was prompted by the fact that views and feelings are quite diverse. We want to ask questions of fundamental importance. It is worth conducting a broad public discussion about them, so that the end result, the 11th congress resolution, becomes a genuine cause for the whole party.

PZPR Plenum Decides To Hold Poll

41[2]WE1SE0SSY Warsaw *TRYBUNA LUDU* in Polish 20 Sep 89 p 2

[Decision on Holding a Poll on the Views of the Party Membership Regarding Preparations for the 11th PZPR Congress" adopted at the 15th PZPR Central Committee Plenum in Warsaw on 18 September]

[Text] The 15th Central Committee plenum decided that there was a need to hold the 11th Polish United Workers Party [PZPR] Congress earlier than planned. Preparatory work is under way. It was held earlier in accordance with the decision made at the 10th Central Committee plenum. Discussion within party organizations and various party communities is growing more intense. Political clubs and other forums for debate about the future of the PZPR are emerging. The Central Committee Party Work Commission and Ideological Commission are working on changes to the party program and Statute. A decision on the date of the congress depends on a number of factors: the character of the precongress campaign, the way in which delegates to the congress will be elected, the results of the debate on the program, and what we would like the congress to produce.

All these issues have prompted various, sometimes contradictory expectations and proposals. This is indicated by the course of party discussion to date and the stances, resolutions, studies, and letters that the Central Committee has been receiving. The Statute empowers the Central Committee to make decisions on the character of the campaign preceding the congress. However, there is a feeling among the broad rank-and-file membership that it should determine the direction of preparations for the 11th Congress and the way in which they are carried out. The Central Committee fully shares such views. The Central Committee's position is that a poll on the views of the party's membership would make it possible to determine the expectations of the majority of members.

The conduct of a poll within a short period of time, over several days, will require a high level of mobilization among party members and organizations. It is necessary to involve all members of the party's ruling bodies, both central and regional, as well as the party apparatus. The conduct of the poll should also increase the level of activity among party members and organizations and make them contribute a genuine share to the creation and organization of the 11th congress.

The Central Committee calls on party full and candidate members to express an opinion on how delegates to the 11th congress should be chosen. There is a strong feeling, especially among grass roots party organizations, that the elections of delegates should proceed according to highly democratic principles, possibly taking the form of direct elections in special party electoral districts in which all members would vote.

This would call for a fundamental break with current statutory procedures and rules, that is, the election of delegates by the primary party organizations and the conferences of delegates at higher levels. This would make it possible to focus the campaign preceding the congress on the discussion of programmatic and statutory issues and the election of delegates to the congress, and would also make it possible to hold the congress much earlier. Following the congress party organizations from primary party organizations level to the voivodship level would elect their governing bodies on the basis of new programmatic and statutory regulations.

Against this background of wanting the entire party to prepare the congress, there are calls that the PZPR candidate members should be granted active and passive voting rights. This would give them an opportunity to vote and to be elected as delegates to the 11th congress. This would really be a move that would reach out to the party's youth and would go toward satisfying aspirations that the party's governing bodies should contain more young people.

Recently, in light of the changes that are taking place in the country and in the socialist community as a whole, there has been an increase in activity in the left wing community, which recognizes fundamental socialist and democratic values in a broad sense. It has a significant amount of political and intellectual potential. Various programmatic platforms are being drawn up within the PZPR and outside it. Thus, the Central Committee wishes to know whether organizational and political conditions should be created that would allow the discussion preceding the 11th congress to proceed on the basis of competing platforms and competing ideological and programmatic concepts. This would enrich the PZPR's programmatic thought and expand its social base. Free and extensive discussion prior to the congress would serve to unify the party and the Polish left.

This is linked to the question of the programmatic character of the 11th congress. Various proposals have been put forward. Some want changes of a greater or lesser degree within the framework of the PZPR, with the party's present character and name being retained. They are attached to the name because it symbolizes the meaning of their lives. There is also a significant trend that wants to see fundamental changes in the PZPR that would lead to the creation of a new party with a new program, statute, and name. The character and goals of such a party would take shape during the discussion preceding the congress and would be defined by the 11th congress.

The Central Committee believes that an opinion poll among members would also provide a summing up of the current discussion on changes in the party that has been going on in primary party organizations and party communities for some time now. It also provides a means whereby the party leadership can consult the views of the rank-and-file membership in order to make appropriate decisions on behalf of rank-and-file members; set a date

for the 11th congress, decide on the character of and a schedule for the campaign preceding the congress, formulate principles for the election of delegates, and indicate directions for programmatic searches during the discussion preceding the congress.

II

In accordance with item 46 of the Statute, the Central Committee calls on PZPR full and candidate members to express their views on the following issues.

Question 1. There are calls in the party for a profound democratization of the principles governing the election of delegates to the 11th congress. Are you, comrade, in favor of:

a) changes in the electoral regulations that would markedly increase the possibility of directly electing delegates to the 11th congress.

b) elections being held in accordance with current regulations, that is, by the primary party organizations and by conferences at higher levels.

Question 2. Suggestions have been made that PZPR candidate members should be granted active and passive voting rights before the 11th congress. Are you, comrade, in favor of this?

a) yes.

b) no.

Question 3. Various, party and nonparty, political currents and associations are emerging that support a socialist, democratic system in Poland. They are putting forward programmatic proposals and concepts of preparations for and the course of the 11th congress. Comrade, are you in favor of creating conditions for the conduct of debate preceding the 11th congress on the basis of competing programmatic, ideological, and organizational and political platforms put forward by party organizations and communities, as well as nonparty left-wing groupings?

a) yes.

b) no.

Question 4. Various proposals are being formulated concerning profound changes in the program, methods of operation, and name of the PZPR. There are also suggestions to the effect that the present name and character of the party should be retained. In what directions do you think that the preparations for the 11th congress being conducted by the Central Congress Commission should head?

a) the introduction of changes in the program and statute of the PZPR while retaining the party's name.

b) the transformation of the PZPR into a new party with a new program, statute, and name.

III

1. Polls should be conducted within primary party organizations until 27 September 1989. The way in which they should be conducted will be determined by voivodship committees.

2. Party full and candidate members will take part in the poll. The issues raised in the questions should be discussed. This should result in party full and candidate members opting for one of the alternative answers provided for each of the questions.

3. A protocol containing the number of those who participated in the poll and the results of the poll in terms of answers to individual questions will be submitted by the primary party organization to its superior committee.

4. Poll results at the primary and voivodship levels will be added up by commissions that will be established by social committees and composed of members of regional and central party governing bodies.

5. The Central Committee and PZPR voivodship committees will direct members of party governing bodies and the party aktiv and apparatus to primary party organizations for the purpose of providing assistance in conducting the poll.

6. The voivodship committee will convey results to the secretariat of the Central Party Work Commission by 28 September.

The PZPR Central Committee

18 September 1989, Warsaw

Rakowski Addresses 19th Party Plenum

AU2909121289 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 20 Sep 89 p 1

[Speech by PZPR First Secretary Mieczyslaw F. Rakowski at the conclusion of the first part of the 19th Central Committee Plenum in Warsaw on 19 September]

[Text] Dear Comrades! I do not feel authorized to present a full assessment of our plenary session. But it does seem to me that today we have done more than just ponder over the causes of our defeat. Instead, we have concentrated on what has to be done today and tomorrow much more than we did at the 13th and 14th plenums. This is a positive sign, for it shows that we are convalescing. It does not mean at all that we are trying to calm ourselves and others.

Personally, I am pleased with our plenum, which of course presents no breakthrough, because it could not do so. This was a working plenum, and subsequent plenums will be the same. At these plenums, we will establish a concept for the 11th Congress of the Polish United Workers Party [PZPR].

I prefer to avoid calling our opponents fascists and reactionaries. Such illusions should not be sown among party members. What we are all doing is quite simple: making an effort to work out the best strategy and tactics for our party in the coming months.

In my opening speech I said that this plenum is leading the party into a period of preparations for the 11th congress. This was repeated in the floor debate. Of course, this period will be different from those that preceded the Ninth and Tenth Congresses. With all due respect for the path adopted at the ninth congress, this congress did, after all, take place in a completely different political situation and under a completely different balance of forces than today.

The features of this new period, different from previous ones, are well known, and I will list some of them for memory's sake. The fact that the party possesses no power monopoly is of enormous consequence. Today the balance of forces in Poland is taking shape under and all-powerful influence of the opposition. This opposition consists of various currents, but I think that the current that stems from the Catholic world outlook is particularly dynamic.

The government that is dominated by the previous opposition possesses two qualities. The first is its declaration about the need to continue the reforms that have been commenced. Of course, there is no mention of the fact that they were commenced by our party. Therefore we should remind the government of this fact at every opportunity. The second quality is the government's aim to define its own identity in economic, social, and foreign policy.

Someone said during the debate that it is wrong for us not to present a stance vis-a-vis Premier Mazowiecki's program. The reason we have not done so is that the premier's Sejm speech provides no basis for a concrete stance by us. All it did was to present the broad outlines of the Mazowiecki government's paths of action. Therefore, I think it is a better idea for Central Committee commissions to prepare stances on those policy paths that the premier did present in detail. I would ask that these stances be ready before the second part of the plenum. Already 1 week after the premier's speech, and on the basis of what the ministers have said, one can imagine the probable paths that this government will take in economic, social, and foreign policy.

There is no doubt that most of society welcomes the Mazowiecki government. There are visible signs of increased optimism that the government will find a way to stop the crisis phenomena. The general political support rendered to this government by the West should be considered an important feature of the present situation.

Such are the conditions in which our party has to act. The state of the party is still bad. Comrades have said so in today's debate. More dangerous than anything else is the fact that some party comrades are sowing pessimism and convincing others that the party will never regain the trust it has lost and will never be a militant movement again. I have said many times that phenomena like these in our party are a fragment of the general crisis in our camp.

I am saying this because it is exceedingly important. It does not exonerate us from guilt, but it does explain to a major extent why the situation in Poland is the present one and not a different one. Eastern and Central Europe have been engulfed by a process of very profound changes. Some of these changes are in the nature of a shock or conflict, and their effects, not only positive, have a bearing on the thoughts and deeds of many of our citizens, with the result that they dislike our ideas. One should remember this international background.

Some people in the party ranks feel isolated. Is this feeling justified? I think it is completely unjustified. Unfortunately, there are many comrades who are fond of telling the media and saying in private life that the party is isolated. They are fond of repeating that the party has no future and no concrete program. Is it all worth it? these comrades ask. This kind of philosophy is already quite deeply rooted. In fact, we have to fight not only the political adversary, but also the philosophy of powerlessness that has already anchored itself in our party ranks.

In Friday's SZTANDAR MLODYCH I read an article by Krzysztof Pilawski, who wrote: "The assurances of PZPR leaders that the party would draw lessons from the June elections defeat have not come true. On the contrary, the PZPR has suffered another major setback. Its main coalition partners have deserted it. As if that were not enough, relations with the National Trade Union Confederation have deteriorated. The party is virtually alone. It has become a target of attacks from all sides. Even in its own ranks, its influence is diminishing. . . . The party's strength stems solely from its influence on the army and militia, its status in the administrative and economic apparatus and the roundtable contract whereby 173 deputies from the sociopolitical order have won Sejm seats." I will not quote any more.

But there are many naive articles like this one, which reveal the dilettantism of their authors. I do not know if Pilawski belongs to the party, the editor of SZTANDAR MLODYCH does, but if our comrades spread such a philosophy of isolation among readers and party people, then what can we expect? Battle? Energy from party members? I do not know. But one cannot comprehend what has happened to some of our comrades.

I do not think we are isolated. It is not true that the party is now blazing a lone trail through the Polish landscape. I do not want to exaggerate but, after all, several million Poles did vote for our candidates in the election. Millions of nonparty people in Poland still trust the party. They might criticize us very much, but they still pin their hopes on us.

If this gloomy philosophy of powerlessness continues, nothing we can do will achieve anything. We can adopt the best resolutions and stances, we can reduce the party apparatus to make it more efficient, we can hold the

most democratic elections, but it will all be to no avail. Of course, we must also point out that the party is under fire from forces that are really hostile toward us, and that there is a deliberate propagation of the view that the party is falling apart and is in a total crisis.

Evidence of the correctness of this view is supposed to be the emergence and existence of various currents and groups in the party who are establishing their own programs. But we think this is a sign of a resurrection of energy and of an intellectual revival. The adversary claims that this is a sign that the party is falling apart, and pretends to be sad, saying: "We would like to see a strong party, but the poor party is falling apart."

I repeat that these groups and orientations are proof that the party is not falling apart. On the contrary, they kindle hopes that the party will survive and survive a very difficult period. Our attitude toward all these various groups and orientations should be positive, but that does not mean we have to agree with every single opinion. It is necessary to conduct polemics, that is all.

Is the party threatened with collapse? Is it threatened by a split not just into various streams, but into various parties? I do not think this threat is more than theory. But what might pose the danger of a PZPR split? A strengthening of the left wing, or a weakening of it? I think the answer is clear. A weakening of the left wing might pose the danger of a party split. That is why we should proceed to the 11th congress as a single party, and not until the congress has started should we decide about a program and new name for the party.

What do I consider the most important matter during the precongress period? I consider the problem of party identity and the party's program to be the most important matter. I raise the problem of identity because many of the differences between us and various liberal schools of thought, including the opposition, have been erased. The opposition is in favor of reform, the opposition is in favor of democracy, the opposition is in favor of this and that, and so are we. But let us not underestimate the opposition in certain matters.

Therefore, the problem of identity, in other words a program that would set us apart from other streams, a program that might even call for a philosophy of "let us all be friends so that we can emerge from the crisis," is exceedingly important. I think that is a major task facing us, including our party philosophers who are professionally engaged in the search for the philosopher's stone.

As far as the nature of the precongress debate is concerned, I wish to calm all those who suspect that we in the Central Committee will skillfully guide this debate. Nothing of the sort. We want every single stream of thought to make itself heard in this debate. We want all attitudes and views to be voiced. We will see what our party comrades contribute to the treasury of party thinking and planning. In any case, the party leadership has no intention of letting this debate be controlled by the party apparatus. No one is going to apply any brakes. However, a debate in which all streams have the right to take part requires a high degree of political culture. It requires a proper understanding of democracy. That will be a yardstick for all of us.

Finally, comrades, I would like to refer to the speeches of Comrades Balcerowicz and Natorf, who discussed our foreign policy and obligations.

One should remember that our country has experienced good and bad times over the past 45 years—from the enthusiasm of the first postwar years of rebuilding, to the gloom of Black Thursday in Poznan [violent riots in 1956] and the shootings on the coast. Our country was filled with hopes raised by the mass workers protest in late 1980, and then these hopes were shattered by the uncertainties of autumn 1981. But never has our country lost its feeling of national security, not even in its most difficult moments.

Forty-five years of People's Poland are 45 years of peace on our borders. Neither on the southern, nor on the eastern, nor on the western border has any hotbed of tension or conflict flared up during these 45 years.

The supreme importance attached to national security gave rise to the foreign policy of People's Poland throughout this time. Thanks to this policy, Poland has been considered a country that plays an important part in consolidating and safeguarding European and world peace. That is our historic achievement. That is our national success. This is the success of the Polish left wing and our party.

It is worth remembering, comrades, that it is a Polish Government that played a major role in bringing about the CSCE Final Act in Helsinki in the 1970's, and that it is here on the vistula that the world's first idea of a nuclear-free zone, connected with the name of Adam Rapacki, was born. For 2 decades, Rapacki's ideas filled all international meetings.

And now look what is happening. All these facts are now being glossed over. Why does no one say they were our ideas? Is there anything more important than a feeling of national security? No. One should ask about the reasons for this silence.

But I digress. Other questions should be asked today. Are there still sufficient permanent guarantees of national security? Although we have expressed our support for the Mazowiecki government, we have also reserved the right to direct constructive criticism toward it. However, we should also apply this criticism to any situation where national security is at stake. The Mazowiecki government's foreign policy is going to be at the center of our attention.

The PZPR welcomes the government's declarations that it will respect the international commitments that are binding on us and the allied relationship with the Soviet Union. However, government declarations are only one

side of the coin. There is another side—words issuing from the lips and pens of opposition politicians.

The idea about the need for a real rapprochement with the Germans has appeared. We have also spoken about this in the past, and we have aimed and will continue to aim toward this rapprochement. We have achieved a lot in this sphere. Tribuchs and Pazos [FRG and Polish Government plenipotentiaries charged with holding bilateral talks on this issue] are not starting from zero, but they are not going to achieve success at any price. The question is: What price are "Solidarity" politicians prepared to pay? I do not mean the government. I mean the opposition camp, where there is much talk about our relations with Germany.

If the opposition camp continues to say that the Germans have the right to unification and that the Poles are in favor of it, I fear that an unintentional result of this will be a feeling of panic that will first strike the 7 or 8 million Poles living on the western edge of the country. I wonder what the reaction to this would be from those who are so carelessly telling their German partners in talks today that they can expect their support in the debate over unification. I do not mean Professor Geremek, but I have been in this world long enough to be aware of certain schools of thought that are now making themselves heard.

In the opposition camp today, one can see a way of thinking about Poland's national security vis-a-vis the West that has already existed for quite some time, but has never had such a possibility of realization. This trail has already been blazed by Beck [Polish foreign minister before the war]. We know what happened as a result of that. Another disturbing phenomenon is the conviction of some members of the opposition that they can fulfill a peace mission and carry the flame of Polish liberty and democracy to our southern and eastern neighbors. If I said that no hotbeds of tension have appeared on our eastern border, one should now express fears that they might appear.

At the Congress of the Ukrainian People's Front in Kiev, the coats of arms on display included those of Chelm and Przemysl [Polish cities]. This is disturbing. If there are any future attempts to revise the major provisions of Polish foreign policy, they could end tragically for Poland. This ought not happen during my generation, but it might happen during the next one, which might wake up in a Poland that bears a new geographic shape. One should remember this. We will issue loud warnings about this danger, even if society thinks that a defense of the status quo is proof that we are "falling behind."

That is all I wanted to say on my summing up, comrades. We will meet again on 2 weeks time. In the meantime, let us all work on this opinion poll. We want to know what the party thinks about the situation. The forthcoming poll is one of the methods we are employing in order to revive the party. Go to the primary party bodies, try to make these members more energetic, and extricate them from their feeling of powerlessness. These are the main tasks for today and tomorrow. Politics, comrades, is not just formulated on the Sejm building.

OKP Presidium Holds Meeting 21 Sep

LD2109225189 Warsaw PAP in English 2225 GMT 21 Sep 89

[Text] Warsaw, Sept. 21—Addressing a meeting of the presidium of the OKP [Citizens Parliamentary Club] citizens' parliamentary floor group, Josef Slisz announced the creation of the PSL Polish Peasant Party "Solidarnosc" thus drawing many questions from the presidium members. Slisz explained that OKP deputies belonging to the PSL continue to be OKP members.

Bronislaw Geremek announced that the presidia of the OKP and the National Executive Commission of Solidarnosc would hold a meeting on September 26 in Gdansk.

In connection with the government draft budgetary law being tabled to the Sejm, the presidium decided to address the Council of Ministers to have Vice Premier Balcerowicz present the government's economic policy at the upcoming OKP meeting.

The presidium also decided to address an invitation to the National Executive Commission of Solidarnosc and the National Council of Rural Solidarnosc to take part in meetings of the citizens' parliamentary floor group.

In connection with the protest by participants of the "Wolnosc i Pokoj" (Freedom and Peace) movement performing alternative military service, the presidium empowered Deputy Radoslaw Gawlik to represent the OKP in talks on their postulates.

The Presidium also heard a report on protests of prisoners in Bialystok, Plock and Kamensk and acquainted itself with a report on the activities of the government aimed at solving the situation which surfaced in many penitentiaries.

The citizens' parliamentary floor group will hold a meeting at 1100 hrs on September 25.

United Peasant Party Discusses Unity

LD2409212189 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1800 GMT 24 Sep 89

[Text] In Wierzchuslawice, the family village of Wincenty Witos [pre-war polish premier and peasant party leader], a meeting of the presidia of the Nowy Sacz, Cracow, and Tarnow Voivodship United Peasant Party [ZSL] committees was held today. Problems of the peasant movement were discussed, as were solutions aimed at ensuring its unity, in particular. ZSL activists critically assessed the attempts to break up the peasant movement and particularly the recent initiative of Josef

Sitar, chairman of Private Farmers Solidarity, concerning the creation of a new peasant party, Polish Peasant Party-Solidarity, as well as his statement criticizing ZSL actions.

The meeting passed a resolution to all ZSL members, its adherents, as well as sympathizers of the peasant movement in Poland. They appealed for a full integration of efforts to hold the 11th ZSL Congress on the agreed date: 10 January 1990, which will afterwards transform itself into a political congress of the peasant movement. The conviction was expressed that the peasant roundtable will be the foundation upon which the future Polish Peasant Party will created. All groups, political options, and units which really have at heart the good of the Polish countryside and peasants will take an equal place at it. ZSL Chairman Dominik Ludwiczak's initiative for a meeting in Wierzchniawice of representatives of all the sections of the peasant movement was supported.

Private Farmers Solidarity Chief Interviewed

AU2709111789 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 20 Sep 89 p 4

[Interview with Jozef Sitar, chairman of Private Farmers Solidarity, by unidentified PAP reporter: "Procurement Prices Should Be as High as Possible"]

[Text] A PAP journalist has interviewed Jozef Sitar, chairman of the Provisional National Council of Private Farmers "Solidarity." The pretext for the interview was provided by the fact that this is the fifth month of the union's legality. Here are some questions and answers.

[Question] How big is the union today?

[Sitar] I prefer not to say, because an election campaign is in progress. However, I can say that we are already much stronger than we were in 1981. We exist in every single voivodship and practically in every single rural district. Local union branches are preparing themselves for their voivodship congresses, which are meant to take place by the end of October, so that the national congress may take place by the middle of December.

[Question] What is the union's chief task right now?

[Sitar] To protect the economic and production interests of the private farmers. Hence, a major task is to negotiate the procurement prices of livestock and other agricultural products. As we know, the so-called minimum guaranteed procurement prices are in force, which voivodships have the right to increase by up to 50 percent, depending on supply and demand. It lies in the interests of the farmers that these prices be as high as possible. However, the union is not aiming at all toward a general price hike from one week to the next, but we must make sure that farmers can make a livelihood, for no social group is affected by inflation as much as the farmers. That is why when our union's demands were ignored and the profitability of farming fell, they had to resort to drastic forms of protest.

In reply to another question, Jozef Sitar said: In the normal world, peasant parties no longer consist of just peasants, but also include people who understand that farming cannot be totally ignored, and that it must represent modernity. Of course, the future party does not have to be called the Polish Peasants Party [PSL]. Perhaps it should not be called that, because the use of a label that is over half a century old in today's times may be artificial. On the other hand, whatever name is given, the three letters "PSL" are an important symbol and point of reference, and perhaps it would be a good idea to preserve that symbol.

Appeal to Poznan Farmers To Support Mazowiecki

LD2709191689 Warsaw PAP in English 1618 GMT 22 Sep 89

[Text] Poznan, Sept. 22—The Poznan provincial voivodship board of individual farmers trade union Solidarnosc published an appeal in which it turns to farmers of the Poznan voivodship of the outer Wielkopolska region, to both members and non-members of the union for a concrete support of Tadeusz Mazowiecki's government in form of a one year loan for the state in grain, meat and other agricultural products or financial means.

Independent Students' Union Registration Permitted

LD2709172189 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1300 GMT 22 Sep 89

[Text] The Supreme Court, having examined on 8 September the appeal against the sentence of the Voivodship Court in Warsaw concerning registration of the Independent Union of Students (NZS) has decided today to reverse the sentence under appeal and to register the NZS. The Supreme Court has decided that registration was possible on the basis of the statute presented to the court on May of this year, which contains a clause stating that students have the right to strike. The right to strike does not flow directly from the regulations of the new Law on Associations and is also not envisaged by the Law on Higher Education currently in force, but one can, however, see it in the context of the preamble to the Law of Associations and also draw such a conclusion from the regulations of this law. It is also impossible to ignore the fact that the preamble to the Law on Associations makes a direct reference to the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and the International Treaty of Civic and Political Rights, which allow the right to strike.

Katowice Drivers on Strike in Pay Demand

LD2709130189 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1103 GMT 27 Sep 89

[Text] This morning, drivers of the Voivodship Transport Enterprise in Katowice did not commence work at the depots at Jaworzno and Chrzanow. 109 buses did not leave on routes serving certain cities of the voivodship, including Katowice, Sosnowiec, Trzebinia and Libiaz. The cause of the action is wage demands. Instead talks

between the management and drivers did not bring any results. As the managing director of the enterprise informed us over the phone, in the case of the action being continued the enterprise is threatened with bankruptcy as the financial conditions to meet the demands of the workforces do not exist. The standpoint of the management met with the understanding of the trade union organizations functioning in the protesting depots. For the time being, none of these organizations is putting its name to the actions undertaken by the drivers.

Unrest against the background of wages has also been noted in the transportation system in Dabrowa Gornicza. However the drivers at this depot have not interrupted the normal service to passengers.

Finance Ministry: Alcohol Prices To Increase

LD2309171089 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1600 GMT 24 Sep 89

[Excerpt] According to information from the Finance Ministry, as of tomorrow official retail prices of alcoholic products made in Poland will go up approximately 120 percent and vodkas with low alcohol levels excluded, by 100 percent. For example, the retail price of half a litre of Wodka Wyborowa containing 45 percent of alcohol increases from 6,000 zlotys to 13,900 zlotys, and Wodka Wyborowa containing 38 percent of alcohol from 4,240 zlotys to 9,400 zlotys for half a litre. [passage omitted on prices of other alcoholic drinks quoted]

Cultural Commission With USSR Meets in Moscow

AU1909104189 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 0903 GMT 19 Sep 89

[Text] Bucharest AGERPRES, 19/9/1989—The session of the Joint Romanian-Soviet Governmental Commission of Cultural Collaboration was held in Moscow. A survey was made of aspects related to the further development of ties in that sphere and new ways were identified to intensify and diversify Romanian-Soviet cultural exchanges. The session's protocol was signed.

Romanian Culture Days Open in Moscow

AU1909111989 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 0909 GMT 19 Sep 89

[Text] Moscow AGERPRES, 19/9/1989—The opening ceremony of the Days of Romanian Culture in the Soviet Union was held at the Moscow Conservatory. The event marks the anniversary of 45 years since the anti-fascist and anti-imperialist revolution of social and national liberation of 23 August 1944 which paved the way for deep-going democratic, revolutionary changes for the building of socialism and communism in Romania.

The days of Romanian culture in the USSR give a comprehensive image of the national cultural patrimony of the contemporary Romanian culture and art, the achievements scored in the years that followed the Ninth RCP [Romanian Communist Party] Congress (1965) when culture and the arts saw unparalleled advancement. The most significant spiritual creations are displayed which are apt to convey their deeply humanistic, patriotic, revolutionary message through literature, the plastic and the performing art, through film and folk art. The programme of the days of Romanian culture includes a wide range of events to be entered by representative personalities of the Romanian culture and prestigious artistic ensembles.

The addresses made at the opening ceremony pointed to the importance of the event which continues a long-standing tradition of cultural links between the USSR and Romania. They also referred to the Romanian people's achievements in the economic, social and cultural spheres, to the growing course of Romanian-Soviet collaboration undertaken by the understandings reached during the interviews and talks between Nicolae Ceausescu, RCP general secretary and president of Romania, and M.S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CC [Central Committee] of the CPSU, chairman of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR.

The large hall of the conservatory resound afterwards the inaugural concert given by the symphonic orchestra of the "George Enescu" philharmonic conducted by Mihai Brediceanu and having pianist Dan Grigore as soloist.

V.A. Gusev, vice-chairman of the Council of Ministers of the USSR, representatives of the CC of the CPSU, of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the Ministry of Culture, men of letters, artists and a large public attended.

Romania's ambassador to Moscow Ion Bucur was in the attendance.

A meeting with press representatives was held at the Ministry of Culture on the Days of Romanian Culture in the USSR.

Ceausescu Receives PRC Delegation 20 Sep

AU2009135789 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1734 GMT 20 Sep 89

[Text] Bucharest AGERPRES, 20/9/1989—Wednesday, September 20, Romanian Communist Party General Secretary Nicolae Ceausescu, president of the Socialist Republic of Romania, received Zou Jiahua, state councillor, minister of the machine-building and electronics industry of the People's Republic of China, the head of his country's delegation at the 10th session of the Romanian-Chinese Governmental Commission on Economic and Technical Collaboration, proceeding in Bucharest.

On the occasion Nicolae Ceausescu was conveyed a warm salute on behalf of Jiang Zemin, general secretary of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party, Deng Xiaoping, chairman of the Central Military Commission of the People's China, Yang Shangkun, president of the People's China, Li Peng, prime minister of the People's China.

Nicolae Ceausescu thanked and addressed Jiang Zemin, Deng Xiaoping, Yang Shangkun and Li Peng his salute and best wishes of success in the entire activity.

During the interview the sides placed emphasis on the relations of tight friendship and collaboration established and growing between the two parties, countries and peoples in the spirit of the understandings agreed upon at summit level.

The sides considered that Romania's and People's China's programmes of development offered ample possibilities for a more powerful expansion of the bilateral ties, particularly of cooperation in the economic, technical, scientific and other planes and for the further growth and diversification of the commercial exchanges. They highlighted the important contribution the governmental commission must make to the continuous development of the Romanian-Chinese relations by identifying new ways and means of action.

Also approached were some current questions of the contemporary world, stress falling on the need to strengthen the unity of action of the peoples, of the progressive forces everywhere in the struggle against the policy of force and dictate for strengthening disarmament, nuclear in the first place, for the eradication of underdevelopment and building a new world economic order, for setting in a climate of detente, security, peace, confidence and wide cooperation among all the nations.

Participating was First Deputy Prime Minister Ion Dinca, chairman for Romania in the Romanian-Chinese Governmental Commission on Economic and Technical Collaboration.

Wang Jinqing, Bucharest ambassador of the People's China, was present.

GDR Days of Culture Conclude in Bucharest

AU [illegible] Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1330 GMT 19 Sep 89

["At the Close of the GDR Cultural Days in Romania"—AGERPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, AGERPRES, 19/9/1989—The GDR cultural days in Romania over September 14-18 encompassed a number of events including shows, concerts, instrumental recitals, films, offering the public at large the opportunity to know salient aspects of development of the culture and art in the GDR.

Among the shows opened in Bucharest, very successful was that of painting and graphic art belonging to known Berlin artist Wolf Handler who displayed some 60 representative works. "I want to render in painting," the artist who was present at the show stated, "the sensibility, the living soul of human thought and feeling. My meditations on the epoch come from reality."

The dailies rooms in Bucharest also played host to a book show with a selection of some 800 titles put out by 52 publishing houses, as well as a poster show. Very successful were also the concerts given at the Romanian Athenaeum by the chamber orchestra of the Halle Philharmonic.

Speaking of the GDR cultural days in Romania, Peter Leif, deputy minister of culture, chairman for the GDR of the Joint Government Commission on Cultural Collaboration, head of the cultural delegation of the GDR, stated: "The cultural days once more demonstrate for the whole world the close and cordial solidarity, the fraternal friendship and broad collaboration between our two countries. Mutual cultural events organized as part of cultural days have become traditional, encouraged along the years by the identity of ideals, by the close solidarity and fraternal mutual assistance between the peoples in the two countries. The cultural days are moments of reference in the upward course of the bilateral cultural-artistic relations proceeding under the token of friendship, mutual esteem and valuation, of understanding and peace in the world. The cultural collaboration between the GDR and Romania develop continuously, based on the accords between the two countries."

Referring to the GDR cultural days in Romania Suzana Gradea, alternate member of the CC [Central Committee] of the RCP [Romanian Communist Party], chairman of the Council of Socialist Culture and Education, stated: "By their quality, by the essence they stirred, these events have accounted for a celebration of our friendship, becoming a reference moment in the development of the relations between Romania and the GDR, under the token of the friendship, mutual esteem and valuation characteristic of all relations between our countries."

Castro Thanks Ceausescu for Condolences

AU [illegible] Bucharest AGENTIA in Romanian 17 Sep 89 p 1

[Message of thanks from Fidel Castro Ruz, first secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Cuba, to Nicolae Ceausescu, secretary general of the Romanian Communist Party, for condolences on plane accident]

[Text] To Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, secretary general of the Romanian Communist Party and president of the Socialist Republic of Romania

On behalf of the Cuban people and the bereaved families, I extend to you and to the Romanian people our feelings of gratitude for the message of solidarity conveyed to us on the occasion of the air accident that took place in our country.

Fidel Castro Ruz, first secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Cuba and chairman of the State Council and of the Council of Ministers of the Republic of Cuba.

Ceausescu Greets Ortega on National Day

AU [illegible] Bucharest AGENTIA in Romanian 15 Sep 89 p 1

[Message from Romanian President Nicolae Ceausescu to Nicaraguan President Daniel Ortega Saavedra "On the National Day of the Republic of Nicaragua"]

[Text] To Comrade Daniel Ortega Saavedra, president of the Republic of Nicaragua and coordinator of the Executive Commission of the National Directorate of the Sandinista National Liberation Front, Managua

On the [illegible] anniversary of the National Day of the Republic of Nicaragua, I take pleasure in conveying warmest greetings to you and wishes for peace and progress to the friendly Nicaraguan people, on behalf of the Romanian Communist Party [RCP] and on my own behalf.

I express my belief that the relations of friendship between Romania and Nicaragua will continue to develop for the benefit of our countries and peoples, and in the interest of the cause of peace and international cooperation.

Nicolae Ceausescu, RCP secretary general and president of the Socialist Republic of Romania.

Mitea Meets Turkish President in Ankara

AU2009183589 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1800 GMT 20 Sep 89

[Text] Ankara AGERPRES, 20/09/1989—On behalf of President Nicolae Ceausescu of the Socialist Republic of Romania, President Kenan Evren of the Republic of Turkey was handed over a message addressing a warm salute and best wishes of good health and personal happiness to him, of progress and prosperity to the friendly Turkish people. The message sets forth the ascending course of the relations of friendship and collaboration between Romania and Turkey in the political, economic, technological, scientific and other sphere of activity as well as the prospects extant for the further strengthening of the Romanian-Turkish collaboration both on a bilateral plane and in the international arena, for the promotion of the policy of peace and of solving politically the conflicts and litigious interstate issues, of detente and wide collaboration among nations.

President Kenan Evren thanked and asked that President Nicolae Ceausescu be conveyed a cordial salute and best wishes of success in his entire activity and the Romanian people well-being and happiness.

President Kenan Evren appreciated highly the relations of tight friendship and collaboration established and growing between the two countries and peoples, expressing the conviction that they would witness a still stronger development in future, to mutual benefit and to that of the cause of peace and understanding in the Balkans, in Europe and in the world.

The exchange of messages was accompanied by the call paid on the president of the Turkish Republic by Constantin Mitea, counselor, special envoy of Romania's president.

During the interview the sides evoked the good relations of friendship and collaboration between the two countries and peoples, which witness continuous development in the spirit of and based on the talks and understandings of President Nicolae Ceausescu and President Kenan Evren, and of the accords concluded in Bucharest and Ankara.

Also approached were some current aspects of the international life, special attention being paid to the problems concerning the implementation of disarmament, nuclear in the first place, the elimination of the policy of force and threat of force, solving peacefully, through negotiations the states of tension extant in the world, inclusive of the situation in Afghanistan, the eradication of underdevelopment and setting in a new world economic order ensuring peace on our planet.

Greetings Exchanged With Cyprus President

AU2009172589 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1649 GMT 19 Sep 89

["Romanian-Cypriot Messages Exchanged at Summit Level"—AGERPRES headline]

[Text] Nicosia AGERPRES, 19/09/1989—On behalf of President Nicolae Ceausescu of Romania, President Vassos Lyssarides of the Republic of Cyprus was conveyed a message of salute and best wishes of good health and personal happiness as well as wishes of peace and prosperity for the friendly Cypriot people.

President Vassos Lyssarides addressed a cordial salute of friendship and best wishes of good health and personal happiness and of new success in the work devoted to Romania's thriving and to promoting a policy of peace and international security to President Nicolae Ceausescu as well as wishes of progress and prosperity to the Romanian people. He also thanked warmly for the constant support granted by Romania, by President Nicolae Ceausescu himself to finding a just and lasting solution to the Cypriot issue, in keeping with the fundamental aspirations of the people in that country.

The exchange of messages was accompanied by the call paid on the Cypriot head of state by a Romanian parliamentary delegation headed by Nicolae Giosan, chairman of the Grand National Assembly, now visiting Cyprus at the invitation of that country's House of Representatives.

During the talks the sides pointed out the development of the Romanian-Cypriot relations and stressed the wish to expand and diversify them in all the domains of activity.

While visiting Cyprus the delegation of the Grand National Assembly met Vasos Lyssarides, the president of the House of Representatives, and the leaders of the Cypriot political parties in the parliament, as well as Yeoryios Iakovou, minister of foreign affairs and Takis Nemitsas, minister of commerce and industry.

During the talks the sides underscored the enhanced contribution the parliaments and parliamentarians in Romania and Cyprus are called to make to better knowing the two countries and peoples and to drawing them nearer to each other as well as to the further development of the Romanian-Cypriot cooperation on multiple planes.

Nicolae Meets Iranian President in Tehran

AU2009190789 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1710 GMT 20 Sep 89

["Romanian-Iranian Exchange of Messages at Top Level"—AGERPRES headline]

[Text] Tehran AGERPRES, 20/09/1989—From Nicolae Ceausescu, President of Romania, a message was handed over to Hoqat ol-Eslam 'Ali Akbar Hashemi Rafsanjani, president of the Islamic Republic of Iran, whereby a cordial salute and best wishes of good health and success in his activity, of progress and prosperity to the friendly Iranian people were conveyed. Stress was laid in the message on the fine evolution and close collaboration between the two countries and peoples in the political, economic and technico-scientific fields as well as in other sectors, on the prospects of the fruitful development of this manifold collaboration in the interests of the two peoples and of international cooperation.

Warmly thanking for the message and the wishes the president of the Islamic Republic of Iran asked that President Nicolae Ceausescu be conveyed sincere wishes of good health, power to work, great success in his activity and of welfare and happiness for the Romanian people, friendship and the Iranian people.

President Rafsanjani expressed his satisfaction for the growing course of the Romanian-Iranian relations and the belief that by working in accordance with common understandings these links would continually amplify and deepen, which met the interests of both peoples, of international peace and collaboration.

The exchange of messages and the talks were held when President Rafsanjani received Ion Stoian, alternate member of the Executive Political Committee, secretary of the CC [Central Committee] of the RCP [Romanian Communist Party], chairman of the Foreign Policy and Economic Cooperation Commission of the Grand National Assembly, who is paying a visit to Iran as personal representative of President Nicolae Ceausescu.

During the talks both countries' wish was expressed to develop more the Romanian-Iranian collaboration in various fields. Major international political issues were approached and it was stressed that actions should be taken to achieve disarmament and eliminate the policy of threat and use of force, to politically settle litigious issues in various zones, the situation in Afghanistan included, to eradicate underdevelopment and to establish a new international economic order.

In context, emphasis was placed on the special role of summitry, of intensification of contacts and exchanges of views between the representatives of the two states.

While in Iran, Ion Stoian conducted talks on bilateral links and international problems with 'Ali Akbar Velayati, foreign minister, Rafsanjani, chairman of the Majlis Foreign Policy Commission, and with other officials.

Rafsanjani Thanks Ceausescu for Greetings

AU2109151589 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 21 Sep 89 p 1

[Telegram from Iranian President 'Ali Akbar Hashemi Rafsanjani, thanking President Nicolae Ceausescu for congratulations on his election as president of the Islamic Republic of Iran]

[text] To Mr Nicolae Ceausescu, President of the Socialist Republic of Romania

I thank you for the congratulatory message extended to me on my election as president of the Islamic Republic of Iran.

I wish you much success in your activity as well as prosperity and well-being to the people of the Socialist Republic of Romania.

'Ali Akbar Hashemi Rafsanjani, president of the Islamic Republic of Iran

Ceausescu Receives Ambassador's Credentials

AU2009153589 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1535 GMT 20 Sep 89

[Text] Bucharest AGERPRES 20/9/1989—September 20. President Nicolae Ceausescu of the Socialist Republic of Romania received Michael William Atkinson, who presented his credentials as ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland to Bucharest.

Handing over the letters of credence, Ambassador Michael William Atkinson conveyed President Nicolae Ceausescu a message of salute and most sincere wishes of prosperity and welfare for the Romanian people from her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II.

In the ambassador's address the resolve is underscored for everything possible to be done to promote the relations between Great Britain and Romania, economic cooperation and trade exchanges in particular, as well as scientific, cultural links and in other fields to the mutual benefit.

Receiving the credentials, President Nicolae Ceausescu thanked for the message and conveyed Queen Elizabeth II his salute and best wishes of progress and welfare for the British people.

In the Romanian head of state's address the Romanian-British links are shown to have greatly developed after the Second World War relying on the observance of acknowledged international law principles. With this as a basis, it is evinced that mutually advantageous collaboration can be stepped up, mainly in the economy, and Romania's determination is emphasized to work further to increase trade exchanges, expand economic cooperation, broaden cultural-scientific exchanges and in other [word indistinct] been doing everything possible for new-type relations to develop between the two countries, and among all world states, on the basis of the principles of fully equal rights, respect of sovereignty, independence and noninterference in home affairs, mutual advantage and unswerving observance of each people's right to freely choose the road to economic and social progress.

The address goes on to point out that Romania works to implement its socioeconomic development aims and also pays special attention to the settlement of major and complex international issues in a new way, taking an active part in the promotion of international peace and collaboration.

President Nicolae Ceausescu wished the new ambassador of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland success in fulfilling his mission and assured him of the entire support of the State Council, the government and his own.

Ioan Totu, foreign affairs minister, and Dumitru Aperan, presidential secretary and secretary of the State Council, attended the ceremony of credentials presentation and the talk on the occasion.

Radio Comments on Slovene Constitution Changes

AU2309204689 Ljubljana Domestic Service in Slovene 1100 GMT 22 Sep 89

[Text] The denial of the national element and the proclamation of sectarianism is the biggest bone of contention in the present polemics about the changes in the Slovene Constitution. Some provisions in the republican Constitution are surely a consequence of the denial of the importance of the national problem and of the disrespect for the independence, self-determination, and republican statehood. There were a sufficient reason for the people to be resourceful, especially in a multinational state. Of course there are many who think that this fear is irrational and unnecessary. Is it so? Janko Saradnik comments.

If all the organs of the federation and other institutions had paid so much care and concern to the protection of the constitutional rights of the republics and peoples in the past as they now pay to the federal Constitution remaining unaltered, many an amendment to the Slovene Constitution would be quite superfluous. Unfortunately the reality was different. Elementary rights of the federal parts were often neglected in the name of the omnipotence of the federation and of quite definite political aims whose chief slogan was that they must be attained whether constitutionally or unconstitutionally, in accordance with statute law or against it, by legal means or through meetings and the so-called anti-bureaucratic revolution.

Such slogans and several specific cases were sufficient reason for building some safety devices into the republican Constitution. Here are a few facts.

A few years ago, some people began proclaiming a theory asserting that the right to self-determination had been used up. If this were so, then there would no longer be any such right, and why should it then be written down in the federal Constitution? Or in other words, it is certainly unnatural that the grandgrandfathers of a generation decide on how and with whom they will live—binding all the generations for a 1,000 years. It is much more normal that generations should agree on that afresh.

Another example of the violation of the elementary rights is the trial of Slovenes in Serbo-Croatian before the Ljubljana Military Court. And another case. The ink was not yet dry on the amendments to the federal Constitution when the Federal Assembly simply changed the powers of the chambers, so that instead of the Chamber of the Republics and Provinces, the Federal Chamber decided on matters that were not within its powers.

We could go on listing such cases, not to speak about the numerous threats to Slovenia not only on the pages of politicized newspapers on the streets, threats were also coming from individuals sitting on important institutions. Is it therefore not self-evident that a sovereign people should adopt certain steps to protect its sovereignty?

Everybody should judge for himself to what extent this conduct is irrational and unnecessary.

POLITIKA on Slovene Constitution Changes

AU2309204989 Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 27 Sep 89 p 3

[By Radovan commentary: "Blackmail Without Precedent"]

[Text] The Constitutional Commission of the Socialist Republic of Slovenia has just published its decision fully adopting the proposed amendments to the republican Constitution. The publicly expressed reservations by the SFRY Presidency to the effect that some of the amendments conflict with the SFRY Constitution and their adoption would lead to unforeseeable consequences for the entire country and for its legal system have remained without response in Ljubljana.

The cat has thus been set among the pigeons. A direct challenge has been presented to the entire country, a conflict has been created which it seems has been calculated, and its essence can no longer be concealed by alleged calls for a professional, well-founded, or sober discussion. A step has been made, and one can now clearly say where it leads.

Amendments that relate to vital questions of the functioning of the federal community have been given the go-ahead, but they are formulated from a point of view, from a dominant interest, from an intention to arrange our common house according to one's own design. And even worse than that. Thus, for instance, one demands a restriction of the powers of the SFRY Presidency to an extent and to less than to what constitutes the original sovereignty of the federation: the use of the Armed Forces and the introduction of a state of emergency.

One wants to insert in the normative part of the Slovene Constitution a provision on self-determination, secession, and association, including the procedure on how they are to be implemented. There is also a request for a unilateral assessment of when the interests of the Socialist Republic of Slovenia are endangered during the implementation of decisions by federal organs.

Regarding the demands for self-determination and secession, such a possibility is ruled out in the SFRY Constitution of 1974, and this is clear to its advocates, too. Anyhow, nobody can change the borders of this country without the consent of all the republics and both provinces. The striving for a Slovene economic sovereignty presents a deadlock of the republican consent economy, and as a result, we are now stuck in a crisis and in debt.

With the right of not applying decisions by federal organs, or of preventing their application, Slovenia would obtain a privileged status in the Yugoslav federation. Does this not destroy the unity of the legal system in the country, which is so spiritedly advocated by the democrats from this most developed republic of ours?

The insistence that the republican assembly should proclaim a state of emergency and emergency measures is nothing but a direct attack on the joint security and it deprives the federation of one of its vital functions. Let us recall just the abuse by the alienated Montenegrin leadership that has been replaced, introducing emergency measures, it had its people beaten up. It is well known that the present Slovene leadership welcomed this move with a telegram of support.

There is also the amendment that the use of the Armed Forces in peacetime should be determined by the Slovene Assembly although it is well known that the SFRY Constitution presently determines that this is an exclusive prerogative of the SFRY Presidency as the supreme commander of the Armed Forces.

The essence of these amendments must therefore be shown clearly and openly in its true colors. For instance: it is clear that the officially proposed amendments now contain the points that at one time, in the form of attacks on the Yugoslav People's Army, could have been heard from the rostrums of some parties and read on the pages of some newspapers, but had at that time been rejected by official Slovene politics. Does not this show clearly which policy has won in Slovenia?

In the situation that has now arisen with the amendments to the Constitution of the Socialist Republic of Slovenia this is not a minor matter. The attempts to return the ball to the opponent's side are no good. This was done in the weekend issue of DELO which obviously contains the issues and accuses those who have publicly voiced warnings about some amendments being unacceptable of radicalizing "the constitutional discussion, which can easily endanger Yugoslavia or AVNOJ [Anti-Fascist Council of National Liberation of Yugoslavia]."

Thus a basically separatist policy is again being "covered up" by a defense of AVNOJ Yugoslavia, following the ways of the Caviar Hall meeting which in this way once again had its say in the constitutional discussion. If Starting was the first performance, the "asymmetrical amendments" are a repeat performance that can hardly delude anybody.

Anyhow it is clear that the so-called asymmetrical federation advocated by the proposed amendments cannot be defended by rational arguments, and even less predominantly, but it can lead to the suppression of one interest on all the others. This country cannot be a confederation for the Socialist Republic of Slovenia and a federation for all the other peoples and nationalities that live on it. The AVNOJ principles of Yugoslavia cannot mean federation and togetherness for the future of all the peoples and nationalities that live on it, but isolation and separation for the Socialist Republic of Slovenia.

There can be no two roads over one bridge, particularly if they mean only obligations for some and a surfeit of rights for others.

Normally on this country will agree to this. The SFRY Presidency has said this loud and clear.

Slovenes React to SFRY Presidency Statement

AU [3 0900:50] TV Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 15 Sep 89 p 1

["Reaction to the Stands by the SFRY Presidency Sounds 'Not a Millimeter'"]

[Excerpts] Janez Stanovnik, Jozef Smole, and Andrej Marinc were among those who have reacted to the SFRY Presidency warning that some of the amendments to the Constitution of the Socialist Republic of Slovenia may endanger the unity of the constitutional legal system and the stability of Yugoslavia.

Janez Stanovnik explained that he was invited to talks that were not to be an official session to discuss the proposed amendments to the Constitution of the Socialist Republic of Slovenia. [passage omitted]

Andrej Marinc, member of the Presidency of the Socialist Republic of Slovenia, explains on DNEVNIK today how the meeting came about. At this meeting the Slovene representatives explained what the position was of the Constitutional Commission and of professional experts, and said that the proposed amendments were not in conflict with the federal Constitution. "The SFRY Presidency may express its public stand or opinion about the content of the changes. If it has any well-founded proposals, it may convey them to the Assembly of the Socialist Republic of Slovenia and its Constitutional Commission, and certainly also to the public." Marinc repeated his stance at the session. He also stressed that the SFRY Constitutional Court was competent to judge on agreement between the republican Constitutions and the SFRY Constitution.

Jozef Smole, president of the Republican Conference of the Socialist Alliance of Working People of Slovenia, meeting the press said that in the opinion of the Socialist Alliance of Working People none of the six disputed amendments is in conflict with the federal Constitution. "We will not yield a millimeter, at least the Socialist Alliance of Working People will not. We also do not allow anybody to interfere in the sovereign right of Slovenia to adopt its amendments, just as we did not interfere when Serbia was adopting its own amendments," Smole said. He stressed that it was not true to say that the Slovene Presidency had quarrelled with the state Presidency. "We only stressed the irresponsible work of the professional commission of this Presidency and protested against the political, and not a professional legal, analysis made in Belgrade."

A statement by Miran Potrc, president of the Constitutional Commission and of the Assembly of the Socialist Republic of Slovenia, has been reported from Belgrade. He made it on the Radio Belgrade program "Arguments." It is reported that Miran Potrc stressed that one could sometimes feel that a false view existed that

everybody was in favor of Yugoslavia except Slovenia which was making efforts to destroy the Yugoslav federation. Petric also stressed that it was obvious that in some parts of the country, the masses of the people were receiving an excessive amount of disinformation about the constitutional problems which the Slovene Assembly was trying to resolve in the best possible way although it was sometimes not accepted in goodwill.

Slovenes Consider One House Assembly

AU [Editorial Report] Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 11 Sep 89 p 4

[Text] The members of alternative movements on the Slovene sociopolitical scene are no longer threatening to boycott the future direct and democratic elections, but still insist on their demand that the Sociopolitical Chamber be made the general authoritative chamber in the assembly. At the last meeting of the alternative coalition—which, let us recall, is so far made up of the Slovene Peasant Alliance, the Slovene Democratic Alliance, the League of Socialist Youth of Slovenia, the Slovene Social Democratic Alliance, the Slovene Writers Association, the Slovene Christian Socialist Movement, and the Committee for the Protection of Human Rights—the term "boycott" was not used, but the participants announced another possibility. If the Chamber of Municipalities becomes the general authoritative chamber in the assembly, the members of the alternative movements will appear in it as a united coalition.

As before, the members of alternative groups are turning toward the models of the western assembly organization, this time to the one house assemblies such as those in Sweden and Switzerland. However, they are not too persistent with this because they are aware of the reality that this is not in accordance with the federal constitution. They have added another point to their demands regarding the future election system. They demand two round elections for the Chamber of Municipalities and the Chamber of Associated Labor so, as they say, prevent the election of the minority's representative with a relative majority. Another new thing is also the demand to abolish the monopoly which the Presidency of the Socialist Republic of Slovenia has in proposing the mandates for electing the members of the Republican Executive Council.

At a recent meeting with the representatives of towns and communes, Miran Potrc, president of the Constitutional Commission of the Slovene Assembly, spoke in general terms about the proposals concerning the change in the assembly chambers' authority, including the proposals made by alternative groups. All four proposals remain topical: that everything remains as it is, that the Chamber of Municipalities be transformed into the general authoritative chamber, that the Sociopolitical Chamber becomes the general authoritative chamber, that all three chambers become general authoritative chambers. The last one, Potrc stressed, is the closest to the one house assembly for which many people strive. However, everything is still open and the Constitutional Commission will thoroughly discuss the outstanding issues until its next session scheduled for 27 September when it will come up with its proposals.

Miran Potrc said that, contrary to a different impression held by the public, there are not many objections concerning elections. However, certain objections to the proposed amendments are very serious. By considering them, Potrc was of the opinion that the impression that there will be no pluralism on the new system has unnecessarily been created. He mentioned the support of some assembly leaders for the draft bill on elections about which the alternative groups have not said anything as yet.

Like the members of alternative movements, many representatives of the Slovene towns and communities are striving for the one house assembly system. The present constitution is the obstacle to this. Many are of the opinion that if it is not possible to introduce this kind of system, one should at least come as close as possible. Nusa Kerševan, president of the Ljubljana City Assembly, went one step further and said that the one house system should be introduced as an experiment, that is to say that one should amalgamate executive organs, introduce various kinds of rationalization, and propose other original solutions.

'Temporary Measures' Imposed in Pec Factory

AU [Editorial Report] Pristina Domestic Service in Albanian 1700 GMT 22 Sep 89

[Excerpts] Today's meeting of the workers' council of the Pec Brewery, which was marked by the polarization of workers along national lines, failed to approve the dismissal of director Agim Berisha. The initiative for Berisha's dismissal was taken by the Pec Commune League of Communists [LC] Committee Presidium on the basis of a report by a working group charged with the implementation of ideopolitical differentiation measures. The committee had also recommended his expulsion from the LC. However, following a discussion by the workers council, his dismissal from his position as director of the brewery was not approved, although the members of the council split along national lines.

Our correspondent on Pec reports that a special meeting of the commune's General People's Defense and Social Self-Protection Committee was held to examine the general political and security situation in the commune, particularly in the Agro-Industrial Combine, to which the brewery belongs. The committee decided that the political and security situation is severe. Serb and Montenegrin workers had stopped work 3 days ago, while Albanian workers took industrial action today. [passage omitted]

Because of the situation caused in the brewery, the Pec General People's Defense and Social Self-Protection Committee decided to propose to the Communal Assembly to impose temporary measures in this collective.

Albanian Sentenced After Suva Reka Protests

LD [2409]0127 89 Pristina RILINDJA in Albanian 19 Sep 89 p 12

[V.B. report: "Three Years Jail for Hostile Activity"]

[Text] Prizren, 19 Sep—The five-judge bench at Prizren District Court, presided over by Nikola Varuta, has sentenced Sharp Gashi (31), from the village of Pecan near Suva Reka, to 3 years' imprisonment for the crime of counterrevolutionary assembly with the aim of overthrowing the social order, under Article 114 of the SFRY Penal Code. On 29 March this year, at the time of the demonstrations in Suva Reka, Sharp Gashi called on his fellow villagers to join the demonstrators, spreading the news through the village that war had broken out in Suva Reka, and asking what people were waiting for, for the last moment had come to rescue children from the enemy's bullets.

Rumors About 'Rift' in Croat LC Viewed

LD [2309]1115 89 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 16-17 Sep 89 p 6

[Sreda Vronic article: "A Misunderstanding at the Festival Rostrum"]

[Text] The main political event in Croatia last week did not take place in Split, Rijeka or Gnal forbul, Knin, but in Belgrade. The much commented on "guest appearance" and speech by Celestin Sardelic at the latest plenum of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia have eclipsed even such an event as the resignation of Dr Tomislav Radovinovic, director of the biggest Yugoslav bank, as well as all of the other things that happened in the social and political life of this republic. While the "media fame" belongs to Sardelic, member of the Central Committee Presidium of the League of Communists of Croatia, one should not neglect the contribution of the head of the League of Communists of Croatia, Stipe Suvar, and his considerable merit in making this event preoccupy the broadest public and fill newspaper pages.

In an effort to diminish the effect of Sardelic's "outbursts despite the truce," the ever cautious president of the Central Committee Presidium of the League of Communists of Croatia has done a disservice both to himself and to the body he chairs. By denouncing himself from Sardelic, he, perhaps inadvertently, provoked suspicion among the public and opened room for stories about disunity in the Croatian political leadership, even a rift between two sides (some call them the "silent" and the "stuttering" side), and speculations about possible resignations. Although he did not go into any details about the message Sardelic had directed to the leadership of the League of Communists of Vojvodina because of its "interfering in Croat affairs," the very fact that Stipe Suvar said that that was a personal stand, and not a stand by the Central Committee Presidium of the League of Communists of Croatia, leaves the open possibility that this body may take a stand opposite to Sardelic's.

Falling Into Deep Silence

Of course, such a possibility would be neither unusual nor inappropriate (after all, we have to recognize the people's right to a different opinion) had the whole thing not started to take an unusual course. When the only logical reaction should have been to explain this internal misunderstanding and to establish more precisely the view of the Central Committee Presidium of the League of Communists of Croatia about the Vojvodina "initiative," the Presidium fell into a deep silence. Two days ago, it held its "regular" session in a very discreet manner, denying the public even that terse announcement that usually follows when a timely official report is lacking.

The ensuing confusion in the public even increased because of the reaction by individual local forums and statements by individuals, which only confirmed the impression that something really big was happening in the top leadership of the League of Communists of Croatia. The public may be wrong and an announcement may come eventually, but the harm has already been done.

The people of Knin were the first one to react, because the alleged concern from outside and the negative publicity provoked by the well-known nationalist incident at the local festivity on the occasion of the 600th anniversary of the Battle of Kosovo are getting on their nerves more and more. Knin has discreetly reproached the president of the Central Committee Presidium of the League of Communists of Croatia for his behavior at the latest plenum of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia. Criticism addressed to the same person was also heard at the session of the intercommunal conference of the Socialist Alliance of Working People of Dalmatia. Stipe Suvar was reproached not only for having denunciated himself from Sardelic's speech and for having left Dusan Dragosavac "in the lurch," but also for his past "sin" of ignoring Milosevic's speech at Gazi Mestan and failing to answer the open question by Kosovo Communists. Makarska veterans also attacked "Stipe Suvar's unacceptable stand at the latest plenum of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia," and one could hear the remark that the Croatian people has a kind of leadership it does not deserve.

In the past, such reactions would have provoked a real shock in Croatia, particularly because hauling the president of the League of Communists of Croatia on the carpet in such a way was not a customary thing. However, times are changing and leaders are getting used to the public evaluation their every step and every spoken or swallowed word. After all, for over 1 year the Croatian party and state leadership have been publicly

reproached for their silence and withdrawal in the face of the attempts at destabilizing the republic and provoking interethnic conflicts, primarily between the Croats and the Serbs. The criticism is becoming more frequent and violent as of late and ranges even to accusations of lacking a feeling for the political situation in Croatia and Yugoslavia. Such reactions particularly followed on the wake of the infamous interview Cosic granted to the Italian newspaper IL TEMPO and other cases that Croatia considers to be part of a deliberate plan to prevent to destabilize this republic and pull it into the circle of the wreckers of Yugoslavia.

The Right to Criticism

In brief, the latest criticism, this time more specifically directed against the president of the Central Committee Presidium of the League of Communists of Croatia, is not any special surprise. Many people see it as a "discharge" of the public discontent and it would not have merited any special attention had it not been pointing to, to put it mildly, an unusual string of events.

Even if it has already become understandable that local forums and individuals have the right to criticize those on high, including even the president of the Central Committee Presidium of the League of Communists of Croatia himself, because of discontent because on this case) they fail to protect "their people," there is now the question of how one can interpret the support Luka Mileta, president of the city committee of the League of Communists of Zagreb, extended to the Presidium and the president of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Croatia in his recent concluding speech at the session of the city committee, and the fact that none of the people present disagreed. Was it meant to be a reply to Stojcevic's criticism or was it something else? If this support did not completely coincide with specific criticism aimed against Stojcevic, it would hardly have been broadcast by a potent medium such as television, particularly because the practice of expressing one's loyalty has long been overcome in Zagreb and even in its city committee. However, let us not confuse matters. Nobody doubts that the Zagreb party organization has been supporting and implementing the policy of the League of Communists of Croatia or that Stojcevic enjoys support and confidence in the community which has elected him. However, has not such support unconditionally encouraged these thoughts and rumors that something is happening in the Central Committee Presidium of the League of Communists of Croatia and that there is a need for such support? If we take a step further, could it not perhaps be that it was assumed that a disagreement with Stojcevic's statement at the plenum of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia may grow into a broader denial of a policy to which Stojcevic, even as the first among equals, still gives the basic tone (as concerns both its content and methods)? One can only guess about this because there have still been no official reports.

The motives, whatever they may be, will be explained soon, just as the unusual situation which brings a feeling of uneasiness to people will have to be explained. Of course, misunderstandings and a possible rift within the Central Committee Presidium of the League of Communists of Croatia, as a part of a global assessment of the situation in Croatia and the reaction coming from some sections of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia, can only be assessed by the Central Committee itself as the most competent to do so. Its plenum has still not been convoked, but it is most certain that it will be held. Even had it not been for the cause supplied by the provincial committee Presidium of the League of Communists of Vojvodina voicing the Knin events, what had happened at the plenum in Belgrade, the queries about the outcome of the closed session of the Central Committee Presidium of the League of Communists of Croatia, and the alleged existence of two lines in that body, the Central Committee would have to meet in order to try to stop unfavorable trends in Croatia.

We say that it would have to meet, because the situation is really such that the plenum must not be postponed unless the Central Committee wants to turn the initiative over to the Presidium of the Croatian Writers Association, which has been openly presenting itself to the public scene as a political factor (with a justified concern and understandable discontent about the slowness and sluggishness of the official bodies) and overtly trying to rehabilitate certain stands from the times of the mass movement, thereby granting them an official status.

Markovic Meets Croat Officials 20 Sep

LD2009??????? Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1900 GMT 20 Sep 89

[Excerpt] Zagreb, 20 Sep (TANJUG)—The current liquidity in foreign exchange is better than one could have expected. The liberalization of prices encompasses more products than ever, industrial production is up by 2.4 percent compared with the last year, and some other systemic preconditions for a more consistent organization of economic life in the country have been achieved. All these things are a good basis upon which one can step up anti-inflationary activities on all parts of security and all bottlenecks of spending without abandoning the orientation toward the stabilization, recovery and restructuring of the economy.

This was stressed in tonight's talks between Federal Executive Council [FEC] President Ante Markovic and representatives of organs of the Socialist Republic of Croatia on the current economic trends in the republic and Yugoslavia, and the program of economic policy measures of the Executive Council of the Croat Assembly and the FEC. In this context the adoption of systemic legal proposals and their quick and comprehensive implementation was considered necessary. In this way, along other operative activities, inflation should be halted by the end of the year and substantially reduced in the next year. [passage omitted]

Bosnian FU Threatens Strike Over 'Pauperization'

AU2709123489 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1200 GMT 27 Sep 89

[Text] Sarajevo—The Presidium of the Federation of the Associations of Trade Unions of Bosnia-Herzegovina has warned the responsible republican and federal leaders that they must stop the pauperization of workers or else a general strike will be organized in this republic. This was reported by Ljubomir Nikolic, Belgrade Radio correspondent in Sarajevo.

Serbian FU President on Government, Inflation

AU2709131489 Belgrade PULITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 25 Sep 89 p 7

[TANJUG report: "If It Does Not Adopt Anti-Inflationary Measures, the Federal Executive Council Will Be Responsible for Social Unrest"]

[Text] The Federal Executive Council and the SFRY Assembly must no longer postpone taking specific measures in the fight against inflation. If they do not do so, they will have to bear responsibility for their failure and for possible social unrest, Tomislav Milenkovic, president of the Council of the Trade Unions Federation of Serbia, said in the talks with the leadership of the Centrocoop Composite Organization of Associated Labor yesterday. Milenkovic viewed the Centrocoop plants and was briefed on the production and business operations of the collective, as well as the difficulties it is facing.

During the first 6 months of this year, Centrocoop, which has 7,500 workers, increased production, but its losses have also increased and now amount to 3,500 billion dinars. According to Milenkovic, the example of Centrocoop is only one in the series of similar cases which show the devastating effect of inflation. A government which is incapable of reducing such high inflation can hardly enjoy full confidence of workers and the people, Milenkovic said and added that what is involved is not an arbitrary attitude toward the Federal Executive Council, but an opinion of the measures the "government" proposes.

Low personal incomes are only one of the consequences of the fatal effect of inflation, Milenkovic said speaking about strikes to which workers resort in order to have their wages increased. Although striking is the workers' constitutional right, it loses its point under the conditions of such high inflation. Milenkovic said that specific cases of conflicts leading to strikes are being solved in Serbia quite successfully.

Milenkovic said that apart from bringing down inflation, one should also set up a unified fiscal system for the entire country as soon as possible.

Kosovar Decries Inflation 'Underestimated' by FEC

AU2709091489 Belgrade PULITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 16 Sep 89 p 8

[Unattributed report: "The Federal Executive Council Has Underestimated Inflation"]

[Text] Ljubljana, 15 Sep—Interethnic relations in Yugoslavia have reached that critical point at which various conflicts and attacks on a nationalist basis are characterized by a large amount of aggressiveness. In these political conflicts that are leading nowhere everybody is invoking well-argued facts and common sense, although we are witnessing an escalation of passions and emotions in which it is ever more difficult to find a general agreement. This was what Stefan Korosec, secretary of the Central Committee Presidium of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia, said in the talks with Ljubljana Communists today.

According to Korosec, the escalation of nationalism has resulted in the increasing distrust and the feeling of insecurity of the "small" peoples about their independence and sovereignty. Korosec has also pointed to the completely different criteria used in assessing nationalism in one's own and other communities. Touching upon the announcement of the provincial committee Presidium of the League of Communists of Vojvodina, that is, its statement addressed to the Central Committee Presidium of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia in connection with the so-called Knin events, Korosec said that it represented a new stage in inter-republican and interethnic relations. He called that an unusual step. One should have started solving the issue with the Central Communist leadership instead. He also expressed a doubt that this was the right way to help solve the problem. The Central Committee of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia will discuss all of that at its 27th session and will present its assessment of it.

As regards hyperinflation, Korosec said that in this context we have reached a critical point which requires complete anti-inflationary measures. In that context he mentioned the "controversial" announcement, that is, the warning issued by the Central Committee Presidium of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia about the fatal consequences of hyperinflation. It is out of question that the government should be accountable to the Presidium because such a method has been overcome, Korosec said. However, this body has the right to present its views on burning social problems. Korosec is of the opinion that the Federal Executive Council has underestimated inflation and has neglected its pace and the sequence of measures.

August Inflation Rate Reaches 89.8 Percent

AU2709104089 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 14 Sep 89 p 1

[TANJUG report: "Inflation in August—89.8"]

[Text] Belgrade, 11 Sep—Inflation reached 99[illegible].8 percent in August because retail prices were that much higher than they were on the same month last year. The cost of living has increased somewhat more slowly—it was 868.1 percent higher in relation to August last year and 442.7 percent higher in relation to December. Retail prices increased in August by 46.7 percent, in relation to December.

Retail prices last month in relation to July increased by 28.1 percent. In the same period, the cost of living rose by 27.8 percent.

These are the latest figures from the Federal Institute for Statistics which were announced in today's news conference on the international press center. Last month, drinks increased the most in price—37 percent, then food industry products—36.7 percent, and services—28.1 percent.

Democratic Initiative Association To Continue Work

AU2209101189 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 11 Sep 89 p 1

[S. Medin report: "Basic Democracy for Yugoslavia"]

[Excerpt] Zagreb, 12 Sep—The members of the Association for a Yugoslav Democratic Initiative do not have even the slightest intention of possibly stopping its activities, even though the opportunity for this association to be legalized was recently rejected for the second time in a judgment by the Administrative Court in Zagreb.

This categorical stand was stated in a news conference today by Dr Branko Horvat, president of the Executive Council of the Association for a Yugoslav Democratic Initiative.

Horvat also stressed that there is obviously a great hunger in Yugoslavia, which is the "territory of operations" for this association, for programs with this and similar orientations, so at the forthcoming session of the Council of the Association for a Yugoslav Democratic Initiative, the membership will therefore choose the [illegible] of their future activities. That is to say, the association's branches in Belgrade, Sarajevo, and Ljubljana have already submitted demands for the Association for a Yugoslav Democratic Initiative to be registered in their towns. If the authorities in these places approve this, then the headquarters of this association will, as B. Horvat said, operate in one of the Yugoslav centers "where a freer tradition prevails than in Zagreb." [passage omitted]

Marin Soric Letter Protesting BORBA Report

AU2209103689 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 15 Sep 89 p 1

[Letter from Darko Marin, secretary of the Federal Secretariat for Information, to BORBA: "June Is Not in September"]

[Text] In the report on the news conference that I held the day before yesterday [13 September] in the Secretariat for Information of the Federal Executive Council [FEC], your newspaper, in the article entitled "June or September," wrongly interpreted—I believe unintentionally—the part which related to the latest measures of an anti-inflationary nature which the FEC has prepared. Even on the headline ("June or September") and particularly on the part of the text that said: "Obviously not devoting from its concept for finding a way out of the crisis, the FEC will go before the SFRY Assembly on 29 September not with the anti-inflation program that has been more and more loudly demanded in the 'eastern' part of Yugoslavia, but with proposals from its June program that have been renovated," it could be seen that this interpretation reduces the activity of the FEC in the struggle against inflation to a renovation of the "June program."

It is well known to the Yugoslav public—and BORBA has objectively reported on this—that the FEC is continuing to program and implement a comprehensive policy and measures of an anti-inflationary nature. In this context, a special complex of measures has been prepared which will be submitted to the Assembly on 29 September. These measures are a logical continuation of those which have now been adopted and they complete the program at this stage. Reducing therefore the total activity of the FEC to renovate the "June package" is obvious unprofessional treatment of a subject which is rightly at the focus of interest of the broadest public. This is all the more so because I did not give reason on any part of my speech for such an interpretation. It is true that the "package" of measures will also include some that were prepared for the Assembly at the beginning of the summer, but this does not in any respect give a reason for the assessment concerning the "renovation of the package" instead of the preparation of an anti-inflation program.

The Secretariat for Information of the FEC is making great efforts to provide the most open, efficient, and full cooperation possible between sources of information in the FEC and the federal organs and organizations and the representatives of the press. Even at my first news conference with journalists reporting the work of the FEC we agreed that cooperation must rest on proper mutual relations and mutual trust as a prerequisite for objective, prompt, and extensive reporting. I can state with great satisfaction that all journalists have respected this on their reports on our joint talk. Your report, in the headline and the part cited above, is at variance with this general tendency.

[Signed] Darko Marin, secretary of the Secretariat for Information.

SFRY-Bulgaria Traditional Border Meeting Held

LD2309174189 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1401 GMT 24 Sep 89

[Text] Kraljevo, 24 Sep (TANJUG)—Several tens of thousands of inhabitants from the municipality of Kraljevo

Petrovac and other places along the border between the Socialist Republic of Macedonia and Kyustendil in the People's Republic of Bulgaria are today attending the traditional border meeting of the citizens of the two neighboring countries. The Yugoslav border at the border crossing point of Deve Bair as well as the Bulgarian border at Gyueshevo are open from 0600 till 1800. Yugoslav citizens are permitted to travel with their identity cards alone and without passports.

Yugoslavs attending this meeting are not able to travel further—toward Sofia for example—because Bulgarian organs will not permitting this.

Taking part in the folklore program of this meeting are well-known Macedonian and Bulgarian soloists, artists and folk ensembles, performing a varied program.

Markovic on 'Very Successful' Talks With Italy

LD2109172089 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1950 GMT 21 Sep 89

[Text] Belgrade, Sept 21 (TANJUG)—Yugoslav Prime Minister Ante Markovic said his talks with Italian Prime Minister Guilio Andreotti last week were "very successful." The talks resulted in an agreement on Italy's aid to Yugoslavia.

Markovic told today's government session that the realization of a memorandum on cooperation with Italy was agreed and speeded up. The memorandum was signed by Markovic's predecessor Branko Mikulic in January last year and concerns the financial support of Italian firms to Yugoslav enterprises to the value of (727 billion lire).

The Yugoslav prime minister also stressed the importance of a signed statement on the intentions concerning the so-called Adriatic euroregion "which has a global character and represents an important factor of linking the two countries" on the fields of ecology, agriculture and others.

Markovic said that Italy agreed to represent Yugoslav interests with the group of seven industrialized countries, the European Communities and at international banks.

Markovic Receives Iraqi Minister of Trade

LD2109170089 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1606 GMT 21 Sep 89

[Text] Belgrade, 21 Sep (TANJUG)—Federal Executive Commission president Ante Markovic received Iraqi Minister of Trade Muhammad Mahir Saleh, in the Palace of Federation today.

Markovic and Saleh discussed the bilateral cooperation, assessing it as being very successful. It was stressed, however, that it is necessary, by proceeding from mutual interests, to invest additional efforts in enriching it with new contents. Agriculture and construction of energy-generating and infrastructural projects were emphasized as the most important areas.

The talks were also attended by Borislav Mavrenski, member of the Federal Executive Commission and federal secretary for development.